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Professor E. H. BROOKES, M.A., D.Litt., { South African Institute of
Race Relations.
Suid-Afrikaanse Instituut vir
Rasseverhoudings.

[illegible]

Professor R. F. A. HOERNLÉ, { University of the Witwatersrand.
M.A., B.Sc., { Universiteit van die Witwatersrand.

Mrs.—Mevr. A. W. HOERNLÉ, B.A., { University of the Witwatersrand.
Universiteit van die Witwatersrand.

Professor G. P. LESTRADE, M.A., { University of Pretoria.
 { Universiteit van Pretoria.

J. D. RHEINALLT JONES, M.A.

C. M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt.

*All communications should be
addressed to*

*Gelieve Korrespondentie
te rig aan*

THE EDITOR, *Bantu Studies*, DIE REDAKTEUR, *Bantoe Studies*,
University of the Witwatersrand, Universiteit van die Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg. Johannesburg,

AFRICAN DRUMMING

A STUDY IN THE COMBINATION OF RHYTHMS IN AFRICAN MUSIC *

By A. M. JONES

In January, 1928, in *Africa* Vol. 1, No. 1, there was an article by E. M. Von Hornbostel on African Negro Music, wherein he cited a complicated Xylophone piece (ex. 9, p. 50 of his article : reproduced here in appendix 1), and proceeded to analyse it. This essay is a criticism both of that analysis and also of the conclusions deduced therefrom. The writer hopes that while he has this specific object in view, he will at the same time make clear some of the typical African combinations of rhythms, and indeed he hopes that the reader may catch some of the thrill which the African feels when playing cross rhythms.

We are all acquainted with the apparent inextricable complexity of African rhythms especially when several instruments or voices are played simultaneously. In fact Hornbostel says in reference to his example, that "the lower part is syncopated past our comprehension." But the writer claims that this idea is false. On *a priori* grounds why should the music of the African be so hyper-developed when all his other arts are so often rudimentary? But *a priori* grounds are of no use by themselves : we must have facts : here they are. Anyone who cares to take a course of African drumming will speedily be convinced that what he has to play on

*Like the author of the accompanying article, which appears to me to mark an epoch, I have always felt that the study of African music must be undertaken on the spot, and that the student must himself participate in Native musical performances if he is to arrive at a real understanding of Native musical art.

Although the areas to which my own researches have been restricted have presented a series of musical problems very different, for the most part, from those faced by Mr. Jones, I have in certain districts come across a number which are identical with his, and having, like him, "gone to school," I have arrived at similar conclusions, and can thoroughly endorse his. Mr. Jones here deals with drumming, and shows how what to the European is apparently highly elaborate syncopation is really the deliberate opposition of simple powerful rhythms. I have had precisely the same experience with South African xylophone playing, finding that what at first seemed to be exceedingly complex was actually formed from simple elements, which, however, were by no means easy for a European to master when they were performed in combination.

Mr. Jones' study, based on research in Northern Rhodesia, is worth the closest attention, for it assuredly reveals the truth concerning some practices about which there has been a good deal of speculation but little real knowledge.

PERCIVAL R. KIRBY.

his own drum is a *perfectly simple* rhythm. The other players are also playing *simple rhythms*: it is the combination of these simple rhythms which makes the glorious African rhythmic harmony, which to the listener often sounds beyond analysis. A phonograph in this field is useless. The writer is convinced that to understand African rhythm, the student must "join an African band" and learn to take his part.

Let us then go to school. The value of the following examples of drumming will be almost nil, unless the reader procures a friend or two, and they together learn to tap on the table at least one of the pieces.

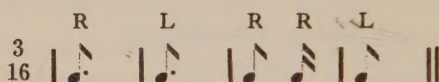
Here is an example of Bemba drumming called "Ngwayi."

R=right hand.

 = 120

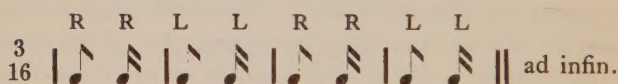
L=left hand.

Drum No. 1.



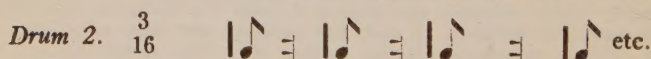
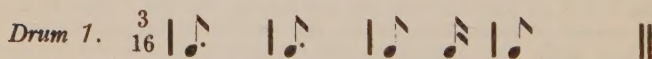
Repeat the measure ad infin.

Drum No. 2.










Now let us combine them. Drum No. 1 starts. Drum No. 2 has got to get the first beat of his bar to coincide with the *third* beat of No. 1's bar. The African usually does this by beating only the *principal* beat (1st beat of bar) in combination with drum No. 1 who is playing his measures complete, until he feels he has "got the hang of it."

Thus stage 2 is :—

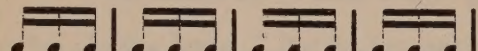


Concentrate on your own drum. When drum No. 2 can hear his own rhythm well, (i.e. when he is convinced that his beat is *not* the 3rd beat of No. 1's bar, but is beat 1 of his own bar), then he can add his other tap (beat 3). The result is :—

Drum 1. $\frac{3}{16}$ |  |  |   ||

Drum 2. $\frac{3}{16}$     etc.

To the outside listener, the combination sounds like :—







|  | etc.

In this example we learn three main facts :—





1. The fondness of the African for combining two ternary rhythms, the second of which starts on the 3rd beat of the first.
2. The way the second drum “ enters ” by first tapping out his main beat.
3. There are 12 taps to the phrase. This is a typical African measure.

Example 2. Bemba. “ Imbeni.”









Drum 1.

$\frac{3}{16}$       || L. R. L. R. etc.

Drum 2.

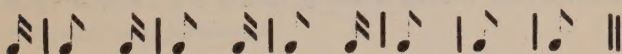
$\frac{1}{4}$     L. R. L. R. etc.

Drum 3.

        L. R. L. R. etc.
 $\frac{8}{8}$ bar starts here

In this example note :—

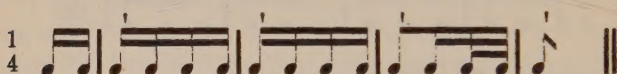
1. Drum No. 1 starts in ternary rhythm and finishes in binary. His part is really

 ||

Note that he has an odd beat to start with. The reason is that this drumming is essentially binary, consisting of 16 taps to the phrase, and 3 into 16 goes 5 *plus* 1.

2. Drum No. 2 places a binary rhythm against drum No. 1's ternary form, i.e. 4 against 3.
3. Drum No. 2 starts on the *2nd* beat of drum No. 1.
4. Drum No. 3 starts also on the *2nd* beat of drum No. 1.

The resulting rhythm heard by the listener is :—



Who would have thought, on hearing this drumming, that this simple result was brought about by such an extraordinary combination of cross rhythms ?

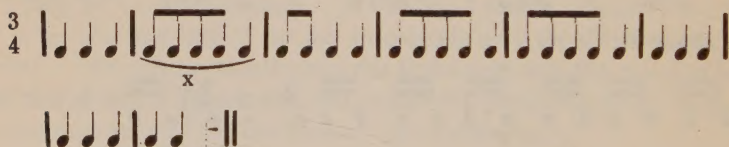
The above syntheses are *fact*, not theory. The writer claims them to be indisputably accurate, as he has taken his part at each drum.

We now leave this field and turn to the field of speculation, i.e. to Hornbostel's analysis of the phonograph record of the Pangwe Xylophone piece. This analysis is, I believe, almost completely off the track.

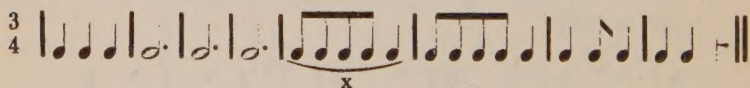
Turning to Appendix 1 let us look for some clues.

1. Bars 5, 6, 7, and 8 are the easiest.

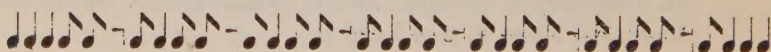
Tap out the low Xylo part, ignoring Hornbostel's barring : it is obviously this :—



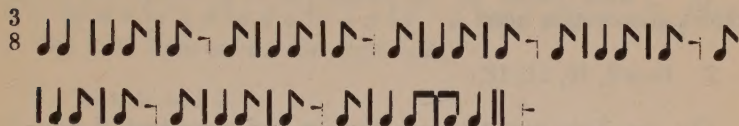
The voice part has the same rhythm, and contains a repetition of the figure marked X. Thus :—



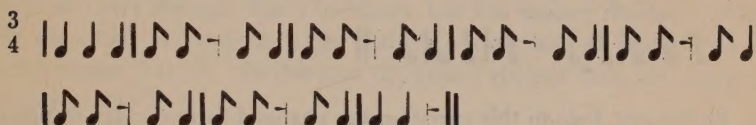
The top Xylo part minus Hornbostel's bars is this :—



What is this rhythm? Tap it out and you cannot fail to find it:—



I can hear an objector saying, "But the bars might equally well be placed in $\frac{3}{4}$ time thus:—"

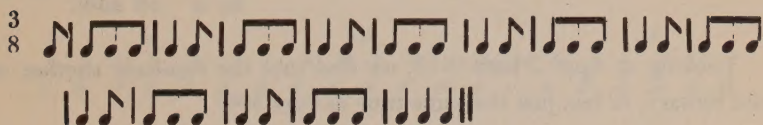


I invite my objector to tap out the rhythm in this way. He must play fair. Hornbostel's transcription has no strong accent marks. Therefore the objector must not introduce any. While he is thus playing the piece in binary rhythm, let him ask an observer what rhythm he is tapping out. I leave him to find the answer.

Returning to the ternary form written out above, what about the two preliminary crotchets. Are they not out of time? The answer is that they show where the top Xylo was marking time, in imitation of the two crotchets at the beginning of bar 1. Note that the notes on the score are the same in both cases.

What about the three end crotchets? These are just a flavour of binary rhythm bringing the phrase to a feeling of rest. The exact analogy can be seen at the end of the Drum No. 1 part of "*Imbeni*." Moreover the same kind of thing, i.e. finding a suitable figure for the end of the phrase, occurs at the end of bars 2, 12, 16, 20, 24.

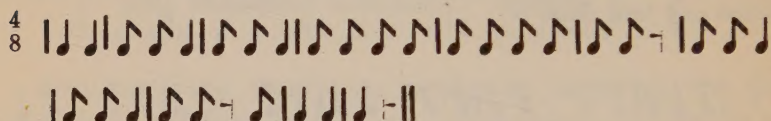
When we put the two Xylo parts plus the voice part together, we get a rhythmic passage as written in appendix 2, bars 5, 6, 7, 8. Now when these rhythms are sounded together, a new and resultant rhythm emerges. In this case, the top Xylo carries the main beat of the rhythm, and this resultant rhythm is as follows:—



How amazingly consistent ! and how simple ! surely we have hit upon the clue to the rhythmic structure of these bars. There is no hyper-complex syncopation here.

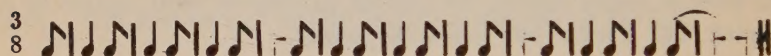
2. Bars 9, 10, 11, 12.

The top Xylo part becomes obvious and consistent if barred in *binary* rhythm as follows :—

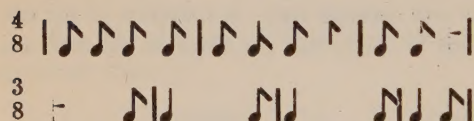


So the top Xylo in this variation has changed from ternary to binary rhythm—a typical change in playing variations in drumming.

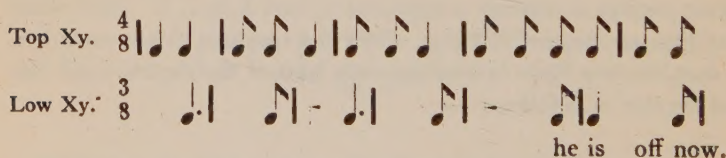
To understand the low Xylo, look at bars 10, 11, 12. There is no doubt as to the rhythm. It is simply this :—



Putting bar 10 together, we get :

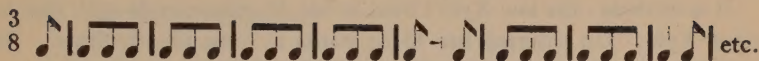


Note that the low Xylo enters on *his third beat*. Now playing a “3 beat-in-the-bar” rhythm against a “4 beat-in-the-bar” measure is a difficult feat. What does the low Xylo do ? He just beats his 3rd beat only, 4 times before making his rhythmic entry. This is typical of drumming procedure. The low Xylo bar 8 thus becomes :—



Looking at App. 2 bars 9-12, we find that the resultant rhythm is again ternary, in fact just the same time as bars 5-8.

Here it is :—



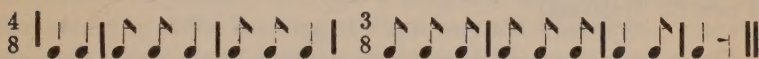
The Low Xylo carries the main beat.

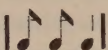

3. Bars 1, and 2.

The top part of Bar 1=top part of bar 9.

Now bar 10 continues the binary rhythm of bar 9. What of bar 2? Tap it out from Hornbostel's score. It suggests at once ternary rhythm. Quite so : very African : bar 1 in binary, bar 2 in ternary rhythm. When this same tune is repeated in bar 9, there is a variation in the second bar of the phrase, bar 10. In this case the binary rhythm does not change as it does in bar 2.

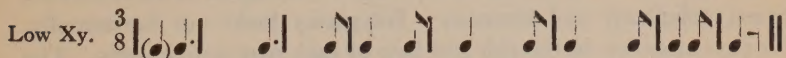
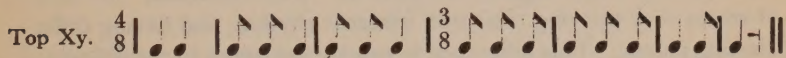
Thus bars 1 and 2, top Xylo become :—



Note that the figure  prepares the way for 

Bar 2 shows that the low Xylo has a ternary rhythm, its strong beat landing on beat 2 of the top Xylo part.

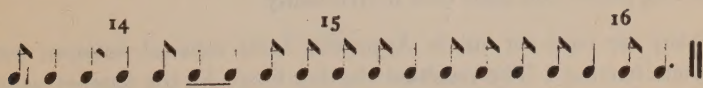
The first three notes of the low Xylo part are once again the preparation for the low Xylo entry on the *third beat of his own bar*, using a 3 rhythm against the top Xylo's 4 rhythm. It is a difficult feat, and to get your arm swinging in the right rhythm helps you to enter at the right moment. The two bars thus become :—



Where again, is the complex syncopation ?

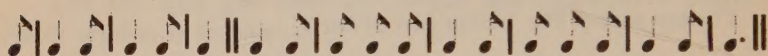
4. Bars 13, 14, 15, 16.

Bars 13 and 14 correspond to bars 1 and 2, *except* for the last note of the low Xylo. What is the significance of this note? Look at the notes minus bars :—



It is obvious : the low Xylo's beat in bar 14 corresponds with that of the top Xylo. On entering bar 15 he wants to cross the rhythms. He does this by dropping one beat at the end of bar 14.

Thus the low Xylo part is :—



There are marks of emphasis in Hornbostel's version in bars 3, 5, 17, 22. Hornbostel with considerable ingenuity justifies these on the ground that it is the *raising* of the arm rather than the actual sound of the strike, that carries the strong accent in African percussion rhythms. If our version be accepted, note that these accented notes practically all fall naturally into position, counting the strike as the accent. My African informant repudiates Hornbostel's notion. In this example, at any rate, it is entirely irrelevant.

The foregoing remarks may lead the reader to think that the piece is complicated. It is *not* : it is just a combination of simple elementary rhythms. We have set out the rhythmic pattern in Appendix 2. Let the reader test any one of the parts by tapping it out. Is it difficult ?

It will have been perceived that this analysis and that of Hornbostel differ fundamentally. How exactly do they differ ? Hornbostel has treated the piece as though it has a uniform metrical shape, i.e. 6/4 time ; all the voices being in 6/4 time, their principal beats all coincide on the 1st and 4th beats of the bar.

The present writer regards the piece as "poly-rhythmic," i.e. made up of voices each carrying their own inherent rhythm, and having different starting points. This difference is exactly analagous to the difference between polyphony and harmony. Polyphony looks out horizontally, i.e. it pays attention to the ebb and flow of each part individually. The resulting harmony is the result of the part writing of each part considered as a separate melody. Harmony looks out vertically, i.e. it pays attention to the chord effects as such, and the ebb and flow of the parts, considered as melodies is entirely dependent on these effects. There can be no doubt that if we are to solve the problems of African rhythm we must regard it as "poly-rhythmic," i.e. a combination of rhythms having their own starting points and their own individuality.

Finally we have set out in Appendix 3 the musical notation with appropriate barring. The resultant rhythm heard by the listener would be on this pattern :—



i.e. $3/8$ time throughout.

This can be found by regarding the score vertically and noting the single rhythm which emerges from the combination of rhythms. It is true that when an entry is made in $4/8$ time it throws the listener off for the moment, and he wonders what is happening. In fact the listener hears a fundamental $3/8$ rhythm which is occasionally topped by a $4/8$ time. But he must not be deceived. The fundamental $3/8$ time has not changed: the $4/8$ rhythm is merely an embellishment. This phenomenon is exactly what happens in drumming. The people go on dancing to the $3/8$ time, while one drum will occasionally suddenly hammer out across this time with a $4/8$ rhythm, and then relapse again into the main swing of $3/8$ time. Therein lies a glorious rhythmic thrill.

A last word about Appendix 3. It is certainly an extraordinary combination of sounds, but what a delightful rhythmic interplay—and all made up by skilful handling of 3 beat bars and 4 beat bars. Can it be said to be “syncopated past comprehension?”

Appendix. 1

HORBOSTEL'S ANALYSIS

BARS

A 1 2

XYLO.

B 3 **CHORUS** 4

VOICE

5 6

XYLO.

VOICE

7 8

XYLO.

VOICE **REFRAIN**

A 9 10

XYLO.

VOICE

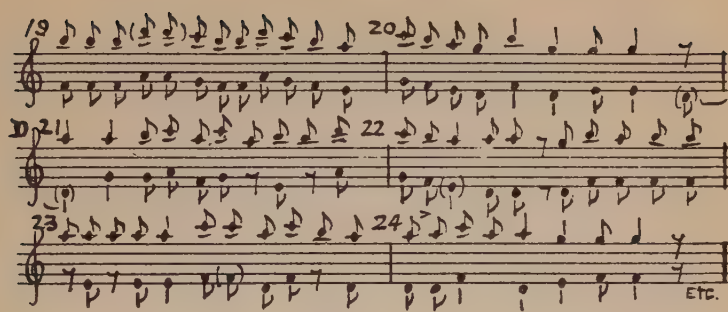
A 11 12

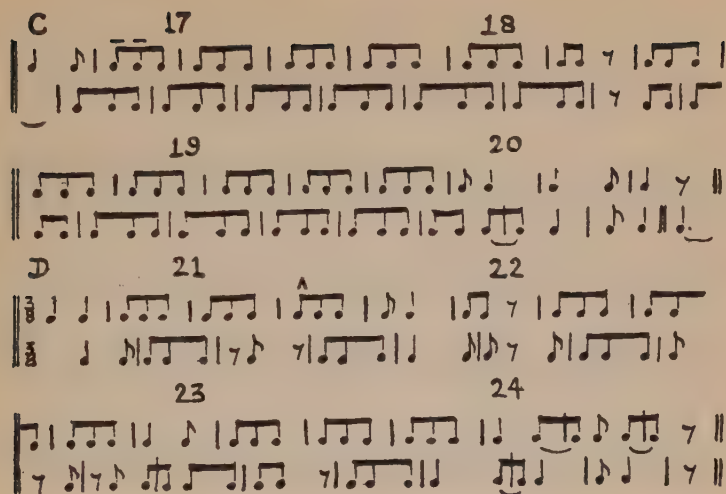
XYLO.

A 13 14

A 15 16

C 17 18





N.B. Not one single note value or rest have been altered in rearranging Hornbostel's version. This version is note for note and rest for rest the same as his.

There are 12 quavers to the phrase. This is typically African. On this point alone we agree with Hornbostel.

Appendix 3

RECONSTRUCTED ANALYSIS

8va. A 1 2

TOP XYLO.

LOW XYLO.

VOICE B CHORUS 3 4

5 6

TOP XYLO.

LOW XYLO.

CHOR.

7 8

REFRAIN

A 9 10

The musical score is written on ten staves. The first staff is labeled '8va.' and 'A 1 2'. The second staff is labeled 'TOP XYLO.'. The third staff is labeled 'LOW XYLO.'. The fourth staff is labeled 'VOICE B CHORUS 3 4'. The fifth staff is labeled '5 6'. The sixth staff is labeled 'TOP XYLO.'. The seventh staff is labeled 'LOW XYLO.'. The eighth staff is labeled 'CHOR.'. The ninth staff is labeled '7 8'. The tenth staff is labeled 'REFRAIN'. The eleventh staff is labeled 'A 9 10'. The twelfth staff is labeled '10'. The thirteenth staff is labeled '10'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

The musical score is written on ten staves, each consisting of a treble and bass clef line. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests and ties. Measure numbers 11 through 22 are placed above the staves. Section markers A, A', and C are placed above measures 11, 15, and 17 respectively. A 'CHANGE' instruction is placed above measure 14. A dashed box encloses measures 12 and 13. A bracket under measures 19 and 20 is labeled '20'. At the bottom, a note indicates '2 BINARY BEATS = ENTRY IN A PASSIM'.

A 11 12

A 13 14 CHANGE

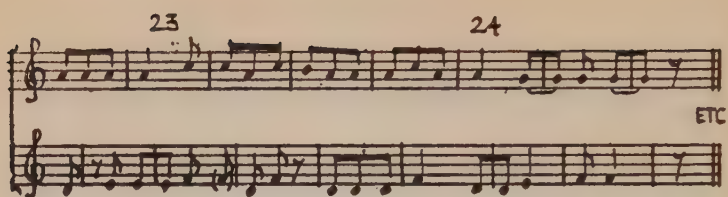
A' 15 16

C 17 18

19 20

D 21 22

2 BINARY BEATS = ENTRY IN A PASSIM



A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF NDAU DEMOGRAPHY, TOTEMISM, AND HISTORY

By HENRI PHILIPPE JUNOD

A. DEMOGRAPHY

1. Name

The Ndaú, Ndzawu, or Njao, are a Bantu group living in an area which may be roughly described as being bounded by the Pungwe River and the Beira-Umtali railway-line on the North, the sea on the East, and the Great Sabi River (Rio Save) on the South and West. A study of the history, phonetics and language shows this group to be associated with the Shona cluster of peoples inhabiting Southern Rhodesia. Professor Doke's Report on the "Unification of the Shona Dialects," printed for the Government of Southern Rhodesia, as well as his "Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics," published by the Witwatersrand University, have sufficiently proved this. Although certain points of detail in Dr. Doke's Report may be disputed, the evidence he has brought forward for the affiliation of the Ndaú with the Shona group of peoples is convincing. The Ndaú are certainly the most loosely connected group, but this is clearly explained by their history, as will be shown in this paper. The name applied to the group has a Zulu-Ngoni origin. When the Ndaú made their submission, when they did "*khonza*" to the Ngoni potentates, they used to approach the residence of the king, sit down, their legs stretched out, their heads and shoulders bent and clap their hands very gently one against the other, while they said: "*Ndaú wee! Ndaú wee!*"—"Room, please you! Room, please you!" This is a very old method of greeting. In the most interesting book of Fr. João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, published in Lisbon in 1609, he describes the people settled in the Ndaú country at that time, and says: "If the Natives desire to speak to the King, they lay themselves down at the entrance, and come in in this position, crawling along to the place where the King is, and there, lying on the side, and without looking at the King, they speak to him; whilst speaking, they go on *clapping their hands* (which is the customary greeting of the Natives), and once their affair is settled, they go out just in the same way as they came in." (*Ethiopia Oriental*, reprinted, in 1891, in *Bibliotheca dos Classicos Portuguezes*,

Lisboa, pp. 61, 2). We miss here the words: "*Ndau wee!*" but the description is a very faithful account of what we see nowadays, more than 300 years after the publication of the book in which João dos Santos wrote it.

The Ngoni thought it convenient to call these people "*Ndau*." It was a useful way of reminding these slaves that they were slaves. Moreover, the meaning of "*Ndau*" is "the place, the land, the country." The appellation thus had a double sense. The *Ndau* were "the inhabitants of the country, the people settled on the spot," and their rights as such were recognised, but at the same time the name reminded them of their rather humble position.

I propose here that we definitely accept the spelling of this name as "*Ndau*." It has been written in many other ways. But, in *Ndau* country, I have been unable to find the semivowel "*w*" which many writers have inserted. I admit that it is very rare to find a proper diphthong in Bantu, but this is one case where it is obvious, and I am glad to see that I agree here with Dr. Doke. The spelling of "*Ndawu*" or "*Ndzawu*," is due to influence from the nearby Hlengwe group of the Thonga, while "*Ndjao*" is certainly erroneous, and due to influence from the southern clans of the Thonga. I shall always write "*Ndau*" (*Va-Ndau*, *indau*, *wundau*, etc.)

2. *Subdivisions of the Ndau*

The *Ndau* can be subdivided into five great groups, the Shanga or MaShanga, the Gova or MaGova, the Danda or MaDanda, the Tomboji, and the Teve. On Dr. Doke's map, the Teve are placed with the Manyika and no mention is made of the Tomboji. I shall deal with these details further on.

First Group :—the Shanga or MaShanga

The meaning of the name was given to me by the *Ndau* as "the people of the reeds." As we know, most of the names of the Bantu groups are nicknames, even the names of tribes in many cases. The Shanga inhabit the eastern part of the country, between the Great Sabi and the Budzi (Buzi) Rivers, dwelling near the coast a little to the north of the town of Beira and, to the south, in the country around Bartolomeu Dias. I was struck by the fact that, near the coast the ethnological frontier between the Thonga and the *Ndau* is not the Sabi River, the *Ndau* coming a good bit further south. In the interior, the position is exactly the reverse.

João dos Santos does not speak of the Shanga. He speaks of all the people round Sofala as the subjects of QuiTeve (*cf.* Teve). But from the ethnological point of view, his description fits the Shanga of to-day splendidly.

Among the Shanga, the most important "*mutupo*" (*cf.* Totemism) is Simangu, and the most powerful chief of the country, Cikhugu Simangu, lives in the country of Cilwani (Chiloane). However, we must not think that there is a sharp line of distinction between the groups, in the "*mitupo*," the family names. The whole list of Ndaú family names is present everywhere, and many family names are common to the Ndaú, the Manyika and the Karanga.

The name of the Shanga is rather confusing. It is well known that the great group of peoples in Southern Mozambique is called Thonga or Shangaan, and this last name, which is by far the best known amongst Europeans, is very often mistaken, in the Mozambique Company, for the Shanga of the Ndaú, especially amongst officials. I have tried to explain this distinction often, but most unsuccessfully. The Shanga and the Shangaan are absolutely different. The Shangaan are the people subdued by SoTshangaan, or Manukosi (Manucusse), the great Ngoni conqueror of Southern Portuguese East Africa. It is advisable to restrict this name to this congeries of peoples, i.e., to the four great groups of the Thonga :— the Ronga, the Thonga proper, the Tswa, and Hlengwe, together with the Gwamba of the Spelonken. Unfortunately Manukosi-SoTshangaan also subdued the Ndaú, and amongst them the Shanga, and this fact accounts for the confusion of the Shanga with the Shangaan. However, it is absolutely necessary to avoid this confusion. João dos Santos, 300 years ago, already calls a chief "*Chicanga*," but he places him in the country of the Manyika. Yet, this chief may perhaps be connected with the Shanga, settled much further east and south. Whether this be so or not, there is not the slightest doubt that the Shanga were called by this name before the beginning of last century, and that they are a distinct group of the Ndaú.

Second group :—the Gova

These are the Ndaú settled along the Budzi and Lower Sabi Rivers and, in general, in the Lowlands. This is why they have been called Gova, a nickname again : " the people of the hollows." This group does not occupy a continuous stretch of country. Its members were apparently fond of very damp land, and were not afraid of floods, mosquitos and fevers. Fr. João dos Santos does not mention this group, as they were the subjects of King Quiteve or King SeDanda. Their most important

"*mutupo*" is *nkomu*, which is by far the most common *mutupo* among all the Ndaus. All other chiefs everywhere acknowledge Nkomu as their head, their superior. I shall explain this when speaking of the origin of the Nkomu *mutupo* (cf. Totemism and History)

Third Group :—the Danda

These are the "people of the forests." But the name seems to have a close connection with the long drum, which the Ndaus call "*dandu*," and which seems to be especially used by the Danda. It is a high and rather thin drum, with two little handles on the sides. Almost all the chiefs of the Danda belong to the Nkomu *mutupo*. They inhabit the land which is situated at the foot of the high range of mountains west of the Mozambique Company, amidst dense forests. As a matter of fact, there is no opposition between the two meanings of their name, "people of the forests" and "people of the drum." "Danda" means first a "log." And so these people were the people of the logs, be these living trees in the forests or the dry and hollowed out wood of the drums. João dos Santos speaks of a son of Monomotapa, who was given the land where the Danda live, and calls him SeDanda. I shall try to explain the position more fully when treating of Ndaus history.

Fourth Group :—the Tomboji or Matomboji

This group is almost entirely settled in the mountains, further inland, and is to be found on both sides of the border between Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa, from the Sabi to the Chimanimani mountains and Masekesi (Macequece), the country of the Manyika. Dr. Doke did not find this name which is, however, well known in Ndauland everywhere. The nickname is a very witty one. There exists a little grasshopper called "*citomboji*," which lives on the tobacco leaf and destroys the tobacco crop. As the people of the mountains are exceedingly fond of tobacco, the other groups, whose land produces tobacco easily whereas in the mountains it is not as generous, began to laugh at the highlanders, saying, "You are the VaTomboji," the people of the little tobacco locust, the "snuffers of tobacco!" The great chief of the Tomboji is Mutema Nkomu, settled south of Melsetter (Mariseta), and the Nkomu *mutupo* is found everywhere, along with Muyambu and Muhlanga-Dubi.

Fifth Group :—the Teve

This group is obviously to be put in relation with the King Quiteve, to whom Fr. João dos Santos so often refers. They occupy the whole stretch of country between the Pungwe River on the north, the Budzi River on the south, and the range of mountains on the west. Dr. Doke

puts this group amongst the Manyika. But he has against him here the whole Ndaу people, who consider the Teve as true Ndaу. It is, however, quite certain that in the vicinity of Vila Pery and Masekesi the Teve are mixed with the Manyika. Again, in the Teve group the most important *mutupo* is Nkomu. It is true that the grouping of Bantu people is always somewhat artificial. But I think that historical reasons, as well as the opinion of the other Ndaу groups, definitely guarantee to the Teve their place among the Ndaу.

Ndaу opinion, on the other hand, definitely puts the Garwe people amongst the Manyika.

The evidence for the number of Ndaу has been clearly set forth by Dr. Doke in his Report on the "Unification of the Shona Dialects." On the whole, we can follow the figures he gives and say that there are about 150,000 Ndaу—100,000 in Portuguese East Africa, and 50,000 in Southern Rhodesia (Doke's Report : Appendix III, p. 136).

3. *The Ndaу Clans*

Let us describe, now, some of the Ndaу clans, without any pretension to giving an exhaustive list of them.

1. *The Nkomu clan*

This is by far the most numerous, and moreover the clan of the great chiefs. All clans have got an official salutation. If you wish to honour the member of the Nkomu clan you say : "*Senwayo Nkomu !*" Before the Ngoni invasion, the clan was probably called "Ngombe." The "*mutupo*," or totem, of the clan is "*moyo ni muropa wa ngombe*"—"the heart and the blood of the ox," and it seems that, still further back in the past, when the Ndaу were not yet constituted as a separate group and still more closely connected with the Shona proper, they belonged to the "*moyo*" clan, the people whose totem is the heart of all animals.

The Va-ka-Nkomu say that they all came from Mbire, a group of the Zезuru, S.E. of Salisbury. They started from Mbire to the east very long ago. The greatest chief of the Nkomu amongst the Ndaу is Muteма. He lives near Mariseta (Melsetter), and it seems that he was the one who gave their land to all the other great chiefs. Another great chief of the Nkomu is Thika, amongst the Teve. And amongst the Danda we find Mukupe. Matsimedzi is the great Nkomu chief of the Gova.

Here are the different lineages of the Nkomu clan which I have been able to find out :

Matsakame, amongst the Shanga, south of the Lower Sabi River, and amongst the Tomboji at Vila Pery.

Macimedzi (*Gova*), south of the Budzi River.

Joromi (*Teve*), north of the Budzi River.

Mungomayi (*Teve*), a "nyankhwaha," a woman chief, established on the north of Dzoromi.

Murivani (*Teve*), north of Chibavava and the Budzi River.

Mukupe Nyamunda (*Danda*), and all the subchiefs of this : Macazi, Nyakhatu, Gezanyi, Manasi, Shituvi, Shibikiliki, etc.

Gwenji (*Tomboji*), Bangaratema, south of Spungabera.

Ngorima (*Tomboji*), Chimanimani.

Cirukhutu (*Tomboji*), Vila Pery.

Tonjani (*Tomboji*), Chipinga, Southern Rhodesia.

Mutema (*Tomboji*), south of Mariseta.

Cikwanda (*Tomboji*), Mariseta.

Thika (*teve*), *Gudu* (near Ziki, border of the Karanga), etc., etc.

This list is far from complete. Nkumu is numerous amongst the Manyika. If you leave Bambo and go to Nyarutsonga, Cimbvu, Cimoyo (again a word showing the connection with the Moyo group of the Shona), Gandoro, Vila Pery and Masekesi, Nkomu is plentiful everywhere. If we are to discover the different strata of immigration of the people who came to the territory now occupied by the Ndau, I think that Nkomu, however numerous it may be, is relatively a new comer. I base this opinion on the genealogy which Macimedzi gave to me, and which shows that his fourth ancestor was the one who came and settled in the Macimedzi region. I shall give more details on this point in my third section on History. *Sithaji* is the name of the Nkomu amongst the Thonga of the south, where many members of this *mutupo* are settled.

2. The Simangu clan

This is also a very important clan and especially numerous amongst the Shanga. The official salutation is : "*Dlamini-Simangu* !" The *mutupo*, or totem, is the monkey, the "*khawu*," the "*shoko*" (an old name of the clan in the Chikore region), the "*nhede*" or baboon, the "*mbge*," etc. This clan was very proud of its totem which is the same as the one of the Ngoni potentates who belonged to the Zulu house of Nq'umayo. However there was no actual reason for their pride, this being a simple coincidence, and there being no connection whatever between Simangu and the Nq'umayo people.

The Simangu clan is to be found everywhere, but it is a clan of subjects and can claim but few chiefs among its members.

Here is the list of the different lineages of Simangu I found :

Nyamukuma (Shanga) near the Sabi River, on the border of the Sea, up to Chilokane, where the great chief Tshikhugu is settled.

Garawa (Shanga), in the same region up to Sofala. A part of this house is to be found south of Spungabera.

Cikwekwete (Tomboji), near Chikore.

Shoko (Tomboji), same habitat.

Dlakama (Tomboji), near Gogoyo.

Muthinya (Shanga), on the border of the Sabi River.

Makombe (Shenga), Mukhuangele (Shanga).

Mehera (Gova), north of the Sabi River.

Nyanguvu (Gova), near the Budzi River, etc., etc.

Simangu is plentiful amongst the Teve, the Manyika, the Karanga, etc. Amongst the Thonga almost all members of the Simangu clan are called "Va-ka-Mathe," or "Va-ka-Mace," and they are very numerous. The Simangu also came from the West, but before Nkomu, who found them already established in the country at Chikore, for example.

3. *The Muyambu—Q'ivi or Tivani Clan*

Official greeting : "Q'ibi-Muyambu !" The totems are the "ndhende" or otter, the hippopotamus or "mvuvu," a certain kind of fish, the "nhekanya," etc. The most strictly enforced is the otter. If, for example, a fish trap bears the trace of an otter, the fish caught may not be eaten.

List of lineages found :

Musikavandu, the great rainmaker of the Ndau (Tomboji), settled near Chikore and the big tree where the Ndau offer national sacrifices to their ancestors.

Gogoyo (Tomboji), 30 miles north of Spungabera.

Ntini (Gova), along the Sabi River and in many other parts.

Tivani (Gova and Teve), north of the Buzi River between Nova Lusitania and the Pungwe.

Dondo (Shanga), north of Beira.

Q'ivi (Gova called also Zamuciya). Ciluwe (Tomboji).

MaRonga (Gova), Sabi River. *Mangonde (Gova)*, Sabi River.

Nyahuma (Gova), Sabi River. *Dzopa (Tomboji)*, Chipinga, etc., etc.

Muyambo came with Nkomu from Mbire. But an old man from Chikore, Mawiri Muyambu, a very able informant, told me that Muyambu came originally from further inland, from the Rozwi country. When

his branch settled in the Chikore region, they found that the people of Shoko (the Dlakama house of Simangu) had already settled in these parts. In the mountains, there are many chiefs belonging to the Muyaambu clan. Muyaambu is said to have been given his share of land by Mulema Nkomu, on the promise that he would bring to him "rain."

4. *The Muhlanga Clan*

Official greeting : "*Muhlanga-Dubi!*" The *mutupo* is the zebra or "*mbizi*." Generally the clan considers all zebra meat as taboo. But a part of the clan, under Chief Mafusi, near Gogoyo, only considers the mane of the zebra, or "*ndzendzerere*," as taboo. A few chiefs belong to the Muhlanha clan but on the whole it is a clan of subjects.

Lineages :—

Ndzenga (Shanga), on the southern bank of the Sabi River near Muhavi (Muave).

Batata (Shanga), same habitat. *Cikolele (Shanga)*.

Boka (Gova), on the Budzi River.

Maphote (Tomboji), the real land of Muhlanga, near Spungabera (in Shindu : "*Shiphungumbira*.")

Mapunga, or Mapungana, actual chief Mubengo (Tomboji).

Gwenji (Tomboji), near the Teve.

Most of the detailed notes I collected on totemism are connected with this clan. Muhlanga is said to have been given his share of land on the promise that he would bring to Mutema Nkomu "*muriro*," fire.

5. *The Mashava Clan*

Greeting : "*Mashava-Mukonde!*" The *mutupo* is the eland, "*nduka*," and the "*donono*," a small rodent, the "*burwana*" of the Thonga. A number of people of this clan are now settled in Thongaland, some of them so far away that they have lost all contact with their origin, like the Mashava Ntombeni and the Mashava Phalati of Lourenço Marques.

Amongst the Ndau, they are to be found especially amongst the Gova on the Sabi River : Cekemba, Munahwa, Mukandwa, Cendeteha, etc.

6. *The Moyani Clan*

Greeting : "*Cuma-Moyani!*" Their totem is the sheep, "*cuma*." We find Moyani all over the country, especially amongst the Danda, where a certain number of chiefs belong to it : Cirinda Cuma Moyani, Ndavira Moyani, etc. Amongst the Gova, Mtingwende is a Moyani.

The etymology of the name seems to show again a connection between this clan (Moyani) and the great Moyo group of the Shona.

7. *The Dliwayo, Mahlaheha or Ishwa Clan*

Greeting : “ *Dliwayo matambiko Mahlaheha.*” The totem is the winged *nymphaea* of the white ants, “ *ishwa.*” They have a little country of their own between the Tomboji and the Teve, and are called sometimes Ungweme. We also find them in Thongaland under the name of Mahla-yeya.

8. *The Nyoni Clan or Shiri*

Greeting : “ *Muthisi-Muthethwa !*” Their *mutupo* are all the birds and especially the guinea fowl, the “ *hwati* ” or egret, the “ *gumba* ” or stork, etc. They are numerous amongst the *Shanga* and the *Gova*. Some of the lineages are : *Sivani*, *Samukwakwa*, *Nyamicali*, *Kundze*, *Nyalavi*, *Nyamuravi*, *Ndlazi*, etc.

The remaining clans are less important, and we can give their list here more briefly :

9. *The Mbhara or Mbhala Clan*

Greeting : “ *Mhare !*” Totem : the “ *mhare*,” a big antelope. Predominant amongst the Northern *Shanga*, etc.

10. *The Nungu or Maphosi Clan*

Also known as Hlatšwayo. Greeting : “ *Nungu !*” Totem : the porcupine, “ *nungu.*”

11. *The Manga Clan*

Greeting : “ *Mangu !*” Totem : “ *gumbo*,” the leg of all animals. One part of the clan is settled north of Beira.

12. *The Nondo Clan* whose totem is the “ *mpalapala* ” antelope (*tsetsebe*).

13. *The Mbumbi Clan*, in close relation with the Manyika, near Vila Pery. Official greeting : “ *Mhumbi-Sigawuke !*” Totem : The jackal, and all meat touched by the jackal.

We have not exhausted all the clan names which are to be found amongst the Ndaus. But these are the most frequent. I might have listed the Sabeka Clan although this seems to be more on the side of the Manyika. However, a great chief, Hode Sabeka, is actually settled in the country of the Danda.

B. TOTEMISM

The Ndau are a true totemic people. In every clan the belief exists that there is a very peculiar relation between the origin of the clan and a given animal. Among the Ndau, the totem is never a plant or an "element," though these may become "taboo" when they have been touched by the animal totem, e.g., among the Muyambo clan and the Mbumbi Sigawuke. The totem is called *mutupo*, as is the case among the Shona (cf. Bullock, "The Mashona.") The etymological origin of the word seems too remote to be found, but, the description given by Bullock being on the whole quite correct, I shall not endeavour here to amplify it. Ndau totemism is entirely patrilineal. I shall endeavour here to give an account of what I found on Ndau totemism, beginning with a description of an experience which I myself had :—

1. *An Illustration of Totemic Belief*

Driving in Ndau country near the Sabi River, on the 1st of August of 1933, I had with me in the car a Ndau servant, Office Muhlanga, coming from the Chikore-Craigmore region, a reliable boy, whom I knew very well. We were approaching the river when, on the side of the road, we saw two zebras, quite near, and looking at us with curiosity, one male and one female. The zebra, "*mwizi*," is the totem of the Muhlanga clan. I slowed down the speed, and my European friend, sitting beside me, took his gun and wanted to shoot. Office Muhlanga suddenly exclaimed: "Don't shoot it ! Don't you see, it looks at us so gently, it is not frightened, it is such a nice animal !" His voice was really reflecting the strain of a great emotion. But, unhappily, my interest in what was going to happen not to the beast but to the boy, was too strong, and, in spite of my concern for the latter's feeling, I encouraged my friend to shoot. He did so, and killed the male on the spot. I was watching my boy. We went out to take the mane and the tail, but our boy stayed in the car, dumbfounded. I called on him to help us, and he came, but very reluctantly. He was afraid to touch the zebra. The female did not run away. She hovered round about, looking at us. After a while, she took to her heels, or rather to her hoofs, and fled. Some time elapsed, then Office told me : "Moneri, don't you hear the female ? She is calling for her mate !" And certainly we could hear the neighing of the animal nearby. There was something rather pathetic about the whole affair.

We came back to the car and went on. I was listening very carefully to our servant. He began a whole funeral oration : "It is all over, grandfather. It is all over. All the troubles of this life are over. Now you have gone. You shall have no more troubles. Go gently. Go

smoothly ! ” These are the *ipsissima verba* of a member of the Muhlanga clan, and I remember them very clearly. A little further on, we came to a village, where we informed the people that there was meat for them. We were of course very well received. But Office was the first to send them to the spot : “ Go quickly, it is in such and such a place. Hurry up before it is eaten by lions ! ” We could very easily perceive how deeply he was moved by the whole affair.

Two days later, we came to a village of the Shirinda clan of the Thonga, about 70 miles south of Masandzeni. It was already late at night. The people were just about to eat. There was plenty of meat and mealies. Before we had said anything about food, they offered some to Office who, very rudely for a Native, refused. A little later I understood : it was zebra’s meat. But how Office knew about it, I don’t know. Was it the smell ? I very much doubt it. Office himself told me that he was always aware of his *mutupo*, and was thus prevented from transgressing the totemic law : “ I knew it was ‘ *mwizi* ’s’ meat, before they said anything ! ”

There exists a very definite relation between a man and his *mutupo*. It is a relation which implies very deep feelings of affection, something like a sense of community of substance.

To my question : “ Are you supposed to have the same flesh or body as your ‘ *mutupo* ’ ? ” Office clearly answered “ Yes ! It is one flesh with mine. I don’t want to touch it. Did you not see that it is a relative ? It did not run away from us ! ” It is a fact that these two zebras looked at us in a most friendly way, not afraid at all. “ When I see a zebra,” added Office, “ it is like my dog, like my cattle.” I then apologised for having killed his “ *mutupo*,” and explained to him why I had done it, and that I was glad to have done it so as better to understand him. Thereupon as he is an intelligent boy who helped me very much in my anthropological research, he laughed readily, saying : “ It is all right ! I understand ! ” But I am not sure he was not thinking in his heart that the White man must have a very thick skin, and does not follow the deep feelings of a Bantu attached to his totem.

I went on questioning : “ Can you kill, or eat, or injure your totem ? ” “ Of course not ! It is impossible ! ”

“ But what would happen if a member of your clan killed his ‘ *mutupo* ’ by accident ? ”

“ Then,” he answers, “ in old times, he would have been led to the border of our country and banished, without any possibility for him to

come back ! Did you not hear the zebra galloping ? They all follow a definite rhythm ! If one of them, in the herd, does not follow the rhythm he is driven away and dies alone.” (A very nice parable, I thought, to explain the feeling of a totemic group towards the one who has broken the law !)

To my question : “ Do the people of your clan resemble the totem physically or mentally ? ” he answered : “ It is a matter of the spirit, ‘ *Mweya*.’ The zebra has got our manners, we have the same way of living.”

“ Does the totem protect your clan ? ”

“ Rather ! If on my way I am threatened with an accident, or likely to be in danger, for example, if there is a possibility of meeting lions, I am stopped by my *mutupo*. If I see a zebra coming my way, and he crosses the road once, I begin to be cautious ; but if he crosses the road twice, I turn round and go back home at once. If there is no danger ahead of me, my *mutupo* just follows me on the side of the road, he keeps me company, it looks at me, and I understand. I am sure that my way is clear.”

“ Is the totem sometimes sacrificed ? ” “ Never.”

“ Does the clan possess the power of increasing or curtailing the numbers of their totem ? ” “ No.”

“ How is it that some clans have many totems ? ” “ It would have been impossible for them to find wives. They would always have been related to them by their *mutupo*. So they had to choose other *mutupo*.”

“ Is the totem always the totem of one’s father ? ” “ Always. My mother’s totem means nothing to me.”

“ How is the totem transmitted ? ” “ It is always transmitted from the father to his children, sons or daughters.”

I put the following questions to people in many places, at Mambone on the border of the Sea, amongst the Shanga ; at Macimedzi, amongst the Gova, on the border of the Budzi River ; at Chikore, amongst the Tomboji, on the hills. And the answers did not vary at all :

“ What is the totem of the married woman ? ” “ Her father’s totem.”

“ What about her husband’s ? ” “ She has nothing to do with it.”

“ Is that so ? If so, what is the position when the woman is pregnant ? ”

"Oh, well, that is different. When a woman is pregnant she is very severely prohibited from touching her husband's totem. Would she injure the baby in her womb? During the whole time of her pregnancy, she must abstain from two totems, her own, and her husband's."

"What about the time after she has given birth to the child?"

"Then she can eat again her husband's totem, and is only obliged to abstain from her own."

I once asked Office Muhlanga if the name of the totem could be used in imprecations. His answer was this: "If a Muhlanga is suddenly amazed by something very strange, or under the strain of deep emotion, he exclaims "*Muhlanganooo!*"

Totemic law and exogamy.

In the Ndaу group, the people who have the same *mutupo* are strictly prohibited from intermarrying. However, this strict principle proved very difficult to observe in practice, especially in the case of the very big clans, like Nkomu or Simangu. Bullock in his book on the MaShona speaks about the "*chidawo*." Amongst the Ndaу, another term exists: "*bvumbo*," but I have been unable to discover if it has exactly the same meaning as the "*chidawo*." The totem is the *mutupo*. But there is a way for two people of the same *mutupo* to intermarry if they have not the same "*bvumbo*." The "*bvumbo*" is the cognomen proper, that is to say, the name derived from the oldest known common ancestor. It corresponds exactly to the lineages of which I have spoken in describing the subdivisions of the Ndaу clans. The exogamic law is absolute. But in order to facilitate the way of marriage, the clans were little by little subdivided into numerous "houses," and these houses "*bvumbo*" delimited the smaller social unit within which marriage was absolutely prohibited. To take a practical example: You can find two people belonging to the *mutupo* of Nkomu who have married. But you would never find two people belonging to the house, or "*bvumbo*," of Mutema who have married. The case is still more striking with the Muyambo clan, where the totem itself has been subdivided, or more adequately, where another aquatic animal has been chosen as totem by houses of the clan, the Tivani people prohibiting especially the "*nhekanya*" (fish), the Ntini or Muyambo prohibiting especially the otter.

The relation of a woman to her husband's totem seems to differ from clan to clan. Amongst the Muhlanga people, a woman, if she has good manners, will never eat her husband's totem in his own village, so as

not to hurt his feelings and set a bad example before her children. She can eat it elsewhere if it pleases her. In other clans, they seem to be less strict on that point.

Medicines connected with the Totem.

Clans differ in the strictness of their prohibition against eating the totem.

Munyavi Simangu, a very clever middle-aged hunter, gave me the following information about his clan. For the Simangu people, there exists a way of eating the meat of a monkey (their totem). They have only to take the proper medicine for it. In this case, it is either the bark, or the shells of the fruits, of the "*muphayi*" tree. A decoction is prepared with water, and it is mixed with the meat. And a very astonishing statement of Munyavi is that, once they have eaten their *mutupo* with the said medicine, the totemic prohibition is abolished for ever.

Mukhonto Mafhava, an exorcist to whom I am indebted for much interesting information as I happened to know him very well in Gazaland, told me that in the case of Mafhava's totem, the eland, the meat could be eaten if cooked with a special stone, and the bark of the "*shivange*" tree. However, in this case the medicine must be used every time eland's meat is eaten.

This way of evading the totemic law does not exist at all in the Muhlanga clan. You cannot, in any circumstance whatever, eat zebra's meat if you are a true Muhlanga. Even in a case of actual emergency, if on the verge of starvation you are offered a piece of zebra's meat, you cannot accept it. I saw that with my own eyes at Bavandeni Shirinda's village, as I have already described. Office Muhlanga was indeed very hungry, when we reached this village. But he refused sternly to touch the meat of his *mutupo*. The prohibition is so strong in the Muhlanga clan that, if a pot has served to cook zebra's meat, it cannot be used again by a Muhlanga for other purposes, unless it has previously been burnt again red hot. It has to be treated as a pot which has not yet been burnt.

Investigation on that point in other clans would be very valuable, and I urge my colleagues working amongst the Ndau to try to get as much information as they can on this point, because the encroachment of European civilisation nowadays is so intense that, twenty years hence, it will be very difficult to get any genuine information on African totemism, at least among the Ndau.

Result of the transgression of Totemic law

At the time when Fr. João dos Santos wrote "*Ethiopia Oriental*," Quiteve, the King of the Teve, lost a front tooth, and he published the event as a very important one amongst his people (*Ethiopia Oriental*, p. 61). This is the only point in his work where I find mention of a fact connected with the infringement of totemic law. And the writer did not see it, of course, as nothing about the totem was known yet.

The result of the infringement of totemic law is expressed in the same way in all the clans, and it is the same amongst the Shona. (See Bullock). If I eat my totem : "*Mazino a no khudzumuka !*" " My teeth shall rot !"

I remember putting questions to the old chief Mathambisani Mawundze of Makovanyi, about thirty miles south of the Sabi River, who, as far as I have been able to see, has borrowed his family name from the Thonga, but belonged really to the great clan of "Gumbu," and the Ngomasha house, whose totem is the leg of all animals. I asked him : " Have you been faithful to your totem, and, if you are a Thonga, why have you a totem ? " He answered with some disdain : " Don't you see that I have got no more teeth ! They have all rotted because I have not respected my totem ! "

The answer is always the same one everywhere when you ask : " Why don't you eat your totem ? " "*Mazino a no bola, a no khudzumuka !*" " My teeth would rot, they would be eaten away."

Another answer given me about the infringement of totemic law was in connection with marriage and procreation :

" Why cannot you marry a woman of your clan, having the same totem as you ? " " You would then be sure to have no children." In other words, you would lose your procreative power.

This answer is, I think, most interesting. It shows that, in the minds of the Ndaus, there exists an intimate relation between the procreative power of a man and the totem of his clan. But as to more details about this idea, I could find nothing at all.

I have got no definite explanation of Ndau totemism to offer. I have purposely brought here facts only. I was unable to verify Bullock's theory amongst the Ndaus. And the facts which I relate here about Muhlanga do not seem to favour the theory very much. But we need more data, and the sooner the better. For the present, we dare not offer a complete explanation, nor even pretend to have fully understood this interesting feature of African social life.

C. HISTORY

Is it really possible to write the history of a Bantu tribe? I wish to say at the beginning of this section that I do not pretend to write an exhaustive paper on Ndaú History. It would be impossible. However, it is perhaps easier to write a Ndaú History than the history of another group, because we have most valuable data about it collected by Frei João dos Santos printed 324 years ago. It will always be a mystery for those who have the good fortune to read Portuguese that these most precious documents should be so little known and so little used. As a matter of fact, I think that a most valuable work might be undertaken in the South African Universities, by students who were to go to the trouble of translating these old records, in order to write a thesis on the condition of the East African Natives at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century as revealed in these valuable texts. This is only a suggestion in passing and I come back to the Ndaú.

1. *Fr. João dos Santos and other old authorities*

Fr. João dos Santos spent four years in the blockhouse established at Sofala, from 1596 to 1600, and he proceeded thence by land to the Zambezi River where he stayed for some time. The First Part of his book is entirely devoted to the description of the land, the people, and the wild game, of the territories of Manica and Sofala, that is to say, the country inhabited to-day by the Ndaú, "Ndauland." It is impossible for me, in the limits of a paper, to give a full account of his most interesting description. Fr. João dos Santos had the gift of observation of a true ethnologist, and even if sometimes we meet exaggerations about the importance of the Bantu kings, etc., the data collected in his book are a mine of very precious information. Even the spelling of Native words is extraordinarily accurate for the time. I will just give one or two examples here, because it will show how extraordinarily similar to modern Ndaú was the language then spoken:—"ambira," the Native xylophone; "muzimo," ancestor's spirit (we write today "mudzimu"); "moroy," the witch (to-day "moroyi or muloyi"); "lupanga," the assegai (phonetic: "lipanga,") "chacata," Portuguese spelling for "hakata," the shells used to cast lots, etc., etc.

One first remark here: The language, as the comparison between the Native words quoted by João dos Santos and the same words in the present day Ndaú spelling shows was almost exactly the same in Ndauland 300 years ago as it is to-day. It is a proof of a fact which escapes the attention of many Bantuists, namely that invasions or migrations seem to

have a very slow effect on the language spoken by the Natives of a given land.

Many customs described by João dos Santos bring us to the same conclusion regarding Native beliefs. The description he gives of the ordeal through poison, the casting lots with "*tihakata*," the superstitions about witchcraft and bewitchment, *lobolo*, etc., could be reproduced as a very able description of the situation to-day.

Now, historical data bring further evidence in the same sense. In a small publication, "The condition of the Natives of South East Africa in the Sixteenth Century according to the early Portuguese documents," my father, Rev. H. A. Junod, already drew attention to the fact that the oldest Portuguese texts we have, when describing names of localities, give the position of Bantu clans almost exactly as we find it to be to-day. If he had known *Ethiopia Oriental* and the position in the North, the truth of his views on the subject would have been still more striking.

João dos Santos, when describing the chiefs of the country around Sofala, speaks of three sons of the great Monomotapa (established himself further north): Quiteve, SeDanda, and Chicanga. The first one, "Quiteve," is dealt with at length. Here are the first words of this description :

"He is the King of all this land around Sofala and the river, a Native with woolly hair, heathen. He is called 'Quiteve,' a name common to all the kings of this kingdom. This Quiteve has more than a hundred wives . . . and amongst these two or three are his great wives, and are considered as queens. The other ones are his concubines, and a great number of them are his own sisters and daughters, whom he uses all as wives, saying that the sons born from these are the true heirs of the kingdom, not having a mixture of any alien blood. . ." (*Ethiopia Oriental*. Ed. 1891, p. 53,-4).

It is not very difficult for us to recognise that João dos Santos is here describing the clan of the Teve, still existing in these parts, apparently now settled a little further north and west.

The second king is "Sedanda," and about him I find the following words : "Side by side with Quiteve's kingdom, is another one whose king is Sedanda. The laws and customs of this kingdom are very similar to the ones of Quiteve, because all these Natives belong to the same nation and in old times these two kingdoms were under the government of one king. . ." (*Op. cit.*, p. 58.) Again it is not difficult here to see that the

clan of the Danda already existed in the country, approximately where we find it to-day.

The position about the third one, "Chincaga," is a little more confusing. João dos Santos speaks of him as the king of the Manica country (pp. 100-4). If Chicanga is to be put in relation to the Shanga, it is obvious that the clan must have migrated to the sea coast during the last 300 years, a fact which might be explained as a consequence of the coming of more Shona people from the west. That such migration has taken place, is obvious when we remember the data connected with the arrival of the Nkomu clan, and its predominance everywhere in the country now.

When João dos Santos went on foot from Sofala to the Zambezi, he says that he travelled in Quiteve's land up to a certain river called Tebe (again a name very close to Teve), where a new people was found, subject to the great Monomotapa King, perhaps the actual Chemba.

There is a great deal more of most interesting information about the Ndaus of the past in *Ethiopia Oriental*, but enough has been said to serve my present purpose. Three hundred years ago, the clans of the Ndaus were already about the same as to-day, their language was quite similar to the one spoken in these parts to-day, and so were their customs. In another paper, I shall show that there are still many traces of the customs described by João dos Santos in connection with the chief's marriage and wives. Endogamy in the chief's family is still quite conspicuous in many tribes, e.g., in the case of the "nyankhwave's" marriage, the daughter of the chief, etc. Moreover, the people of all the land are called by João dos Santos "mocarangas," a good confirmation of the intimate relation which exists between the actual Ndaus and the Karanga.

Apart from João dos Santos, we find a great deal of information about Ndaus and Karangaland in the *Decadas da Asia* of João de Barros and Diogo de Couto (Reprint, Liboa, 1778. 7 volumes); in Wilmot's *Monomotapa*; in Torrend's Introduction to his *Comparative Grammar*; in the letters of Padre Gonçalves da Silveira and Fr. Antonio Fernandes; in Manuel Barreto's *Informação*; etc., etc. But for details, no source is better than João dos Santos.

Little is known about the invasion of the terrible "Zimbas," which took place at the end of the 16th Century, but it had most certainly a great effect on the whole land from Nyasaland to the Limpopo River. However, it does not seem to have affected very deeply the position of the Ndaus clans, so as to change the ethnological physiognomy of the land.

2. *The Zulu-Ngoni invasion and its effects*

It is very different when we come to the great Zulu-Ngoni invasion of the XIX Century and the militarisation which they imposed on all the tribes they subdued. I think that it was not so much the invasion in itself that really affected the Bantu tribes of Portuguese East, as the military conscription of almost all their men. When Chaka began his Napoleonic military enterprise, and defeated Zwithi, two of the lieutenants of Zwithi made their submission to him, and were subsequently sent to Portuguese East to subdue the tribes there. They were Manukosi and Songandaba. After two years, they began quarrelling and separated. Songandaba went so far as Nyasaland, spreading everywhere fear and desolation, and Manukosi began his systematic militarisation of all the southern area of Portuguese East, from the Pungwe down to the Maputo region. During his journeys to the north, he subdued all the Ndaу clans, and little by little the Ndaу became a part of the Zulu-Ngoni battalions. Owing to this progressive militarisation, which was continued by Manukosi's son, Muzila, and by Gungunyana, until the latter was defeated by the Portuguese in 1895, a number of Ndaу accompanied the Ngoni potentates on their expeditions and a great many settled amongst the Thonga-Shangaan of the south. Thus Ndaуland was little by little deprived of a good part of its population, and it would not be far from reality if we said that, as far as we are able to see, about a third of the Ndaу clans find themselves nowadays established in Thonga-Shangaan country. Already in the first regiments of Manukosi, the Psig'i, the Izithya, the Nduku, and the Impakamela, some Ndaу were incorporated. Manukosi died in 1859 after a number of expeditions during which Black and White blood was shed freely. There is to be seen at Tshayamithi (Chaimite), near the Limpopo River, a big tree called "*mufelankosi*," which I have seen on many occasions, under which the remains of this terrible general are to be found.

In the regiments of Manukosi's sons, the Ndaу were more and more numerous. Here are the names of these regiments in their historical succession, and they afford a useful way of learning from an old Native his approximate age: "Maq'anq'ula, Magwembetshe, MaZulu, Mahwahwa, Izibangwa, Mamboza, Timbavumana, Mangemba, Maphepha, Mangonde, MaZambo, Malamba, Tinzambana, Mayanda."

During the journeys and expeditions of the Ngoni chiefs, the whole population of the country was submitted to a great strain. There is no doubt that the population of Ndaуland was much greater in earlier days. One can still see near the Mosurizi River a plain, where a great number of

trees planted by man stand in a completely deserted bush, and Rev. Dysart, actually settled at Gogoyo (30 miles north east of Spungabera), told me that, in these parts, traces of a great number of deserted villages are still to be seen. I think that these facts explain fully the widespread presence of Ndaу family names amongst the Thonga-Shangaans. And it explains also a fact which will be dealt with in another paper, i.e., the tremendous impact of Ndaу superstition on the Thonga mind.

It is impossible to enter here into more details about the depopulation of Ndaуland. But enough has been said to explain what a curse the Ngoni domination has been for this country, and how grateful the Ndaу people must be to live now under the Portuguese flag. Driven away from their land, the inhabitants of the country, enslaved and militarised, their family life broken to pieces, their villages deserted, their whole peaceful outlook on life fundamentally modified, the Ndaу will in time bless those who destroyed the Ngoni domination, even if they still find some hard facts in front of them, like European taxation, the obligation to go out to work, etc.

They now live in an era where they can let their tribal life develop peacefully. May it be brought to an enlightened civilisation without splitting into pieces all that is valuable in their own social system and in their customs.

It is obvious that we can reasonably say that the composition of the population of Ndaу land is little different from what it was 300 years ago. However, some clans seem to have come in from the west at a much later date. This is, apparently, the case with the great Nkomu clan which is now the clan of the chiefs. It has its origin in the west, like all the other ones. But that it came later, is clearly to be seen from the genealogies which one can obtain from the present Nkomu chiefs.

When I was at Macimeji, I had the privilege of interviewing the old Regulo himself, a very old man, but with his head still perfectly clear. He told me, as did another very old man of the Muyambo clan at Chikore, that the Nkomu and Muyambo came from Mbire, but that originally their home was still further inland, in the Rozwi country. As to the date of their coming, it seems to be not so very far back. Macimeji gave the following list of his ancestors :

He was the son of Zinawo, son of Makanya, son of Nyakwesi, son of Bindirayi, son of Jeromi, who was settled at Mbire. The one who came to the Budzi River, where Macimeji lives to-day, was Bindirayi. This would mean that Nkomu appeared in these parts about 150 years ago.

The old Mawiri Muyambo, at Chikore, told me that when his ancestors came to the land where they are now settled, they found Shoko (Simangu) already established there.

As to the people near the border of the sea, Mathambisani Mawundze, at Makovanyi, gave me his genealogy as follows :

He was the son of Masiningiti, son of Mpfumo, son of Gangazo, son of Musandiyi, son of Makimbikidja, son of Maniti. This Maniti was settled on the sea-coast. The names here produced show very distinctly, I think, the mixture we find in that part of Ndau land between Thonga and other people, because a name like Mpfumo is really Thonga, whereas names like Makimbikidja or Maniti bear certainly another origin, probably Ndau.

What seems to emerge from these genealogies is that some clans in Ndau land are much older inhabitants of the country than others. On the whole, Ndau history is the history of a series of successive migrations from the west to the east, up to the time when Zulu militarisation upset the development of the group, and carried a great number of members of the Ndau clans to the south, where they settled and little by little became incorporated with the Thonga.

This paper provides the background for two other topics with which I hope to deal in the near future, one on "Ndau Exorcism and Exorcists," which will be a contribution to the psychological study of spiritual "possession" amongst Natives, and another on "Sundry customs of the Ndau," in which I shall try to describe the old Ndau form of marriage, the "*tihakata*," and some hunting rites of this most interesting people.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEER-BREWING IN AN URBAN NATIVE YARD

By ELLEN HELLMANN

Beer is an essential to the Native and constitutes what might be called his national beverage. Its social significance has been revealed in a careful analysis by Eileen Krige.¹ Its value as "an important source of vitamins in the diet of the Native" has been recognised by the Native Economic Commission.² In addition beer-drinking, because of the social amenities attendant upon it, is as favoured a recreation of the urban Native as of the tribal Native; particularly so as the urban Native has very few other forms of recreation with which to beguile his leisure time. But the brewing of beer has, in the great majority of urban areas, been strictly prohibited. The harmful effects of denying the Native his national beverage are, especially in Johannesburg, all too apparent. For despite the heavy penalties which are incurred by an infringement of the law, beer-brewing flourishes in Johannesburg. In municipal locations beer may be obtained in abundance. In private houses, which have been let by the room to Native families, beer abounds. Female domestic servants, either evading the surveillance of their employers or encouraged and supplied by them with brandy, whisky and wine, carry on an evidently lucrative trade in beer and liquor. But it is in the popularly named "skokiaan yards" of Johannesburg that the brewing of beer and other concoctions, derivatives of the original *utywala*, attains its zenith and becomes the most absorbing interest and activity of the Natives living there.

Rooiyard, situated in Doornfontein in Upper Railway Street, is typical of such yards. It is a comparatively large yard, consisting of five stands with a total extent of 1183 square yards. On this confined space are built 107 rooms, varying in size from 8 feet by 11 feet to 11 feet square. Fifty-seven rooms are built facing inwards around the roughly triangular boundary of the yard. Fifteen rooms, adjoining the former, face the street. These rooms and thirteen of the inner rooms are built of brick

¹ "The Social Significance of Beer among the Balobedu." Eileen Jensen Krige. *Bantu Studies*. Vol. VI, No. 4.

² U.G. 22, 1932. Par. 757.

while the remainder of the inner rooms are frail constructions of corrugated iron and thin, gaping, wooden planks. For this reason the outside rooms are sought after, as also on account of the fact that their position, facing the street, attracts much of the casual beer-custom. As an offset against this advantage is the consideration that beer-brewers occupying these rooms are continually subject to sudden police raids, whereas the Natives living inside the yard can protect themselves to some extent by a system of alarms. In the centre of the yard there are thirty-five rooms, built back-to-back in a double line and facing the rooms which skirt the yard. In the lanes, about 15 to 20 feet wide formed by this division of rooms, the greater part of the essential possessions of Rooiyard inhabitants is kept. Here stand the large braziers on which the beer-mixture is boiled. An amazing array of tins for the preparation and storage of beer is on view. Two-gallon petrol tins and larger petrol and oil drums are most commonly used, but any other type of tin may also be pressed into service. In these lanes the tins containing the beer are sunk for purposes of fermentation and storage. The police, during their raids, frequently find these underground stores and demolish the tins, but as ownership of these tins cannot be proved, and proof of ownership or possession is necessary to secure a conviction, this method of storage is the safest and hence is practically invariably employed. As each brewer has her own "hole," the alleyways are literally subterranean cellars.

Despite the high rents, ranging from 25/- to 40/- per room per month there is an incessant demand for rooms in Rooiyard. This finds a ready explanation in its central position and proximity to town, especially now that Natives are debarred from living in the greater number of suburbs. The situation of Rooiyard confers two direct benefits: the avoidance of expenditure on conveyance to and from the place of employment and, above all, the attraction of beer-custom. As there is no restriction against Native residence in Doornfontein, it is, as Bertrams was before it was proclaimed, a well-established and well-known beer-brewing centre. Rooiyard depends greatly on the domestic servant class, both male and female, as the "prosperous" section of the Native population, for the sale of its beer. For them Doornfontein is more accessible than are the locations, which lie on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Despite the fact that many location brewers sell their beer at half the price demanded in Rooiyard, the competition from locations does not interfere with the sale of beer in Doornfontein. The Native who slips out without a "special" or the Native who has to return home in an inebriated condition after a convivial beer-drink is well aware that the shorter the distance he has to travel the more he minimizes the danger of meeting a



Woman boiling the *Umqombothi*.



General View in "Rooiyard."

policeman on his rounds. Further, as one informant pointed out to me, "if he has to walk far he will fall down in the road and be found there."

The permanent population of Rooiyard at the beginning of September comprised 376 individuals, consisting of 235 adults and 141 children. The daily shifting population of relatives and friends, either seeking refuge while unemployed or spending a short holiday in town, could not be assessed. Apart from 11 Indians and 5 Cape Coloureds, the other Rooiyard inhabitants are all of Bantu stock. No one single tribe predominates in Rooiyard; it is a meeting place for Natives of practically every South African Bantu tribe. Kwenas and Kxatlas from the Transvaal, Southern Sothos, Zulus and Shangaans are well represented. There are fewer Pedis, Mangwatos, Swazis, Xhosas and Ndebeles and an isolated Venda, Fingo, Senga and Nyasaland Native. With three exceptions, where two families live in one room, each family occupies one room. In this room the family eats and sleeps, the parents in the bed which is usually the first household purchase, the children and friends on the floor; in this room beer is sold and occasional dances are arranged. In short, it is made to serve all the manifold needs of a household with the exception of the cooking which, in the summer, takes place outside.

In the statements that "beer is Kafir-tea" and that they "eat from beer," two Native women expressed concisely and tersely the two motives which make the illegal beer industry such an integral portion of their existence. In other words, beer must be made for two reasons. The one is to satisfy the demands of the male head of the family and to add to his well-being, and the other is to increase the family revenue, as the earnings of the men in Rooiyard, averaging 18/1 per week, do not cover the expenditure of a family living in an urban area.

It is the duty of a wife to make beer for her husband. He requires it for his recreation and refreshment after the labours of the week. A good wife would not like her husband to be placed in the position of having to buy his beer from other women. There are very few men who, in order to protect their wives from the danger of arrest to which they expose themselves by the manufacture of beer, will forego the pleasure of having their beer in their own home, where they can entertain their friends. Beer must also be offered when a birthday is to be celebrated or when friends and relatives come to express their sympathy after a death has occurred in the family. But even these meetings have been commercialised and the beer is indirectly paid for by a collection from those present. Many domestic conflicts are occasioned by the desire of a man to give his friends beer "*mahala*" (free of charge), while his wife demands

that his friends, who form the nucleus of her beer-custom, should pay for their drinks. The woman but recently arrived from the kraal, which is in Rooiyard synonymous with the woman who has not yet commenced to sell beer, is nevertheless expected to make beer for the entertainment of her husband. As soon as she becomes adjusted to urban conditions, overcoming her fear of the police and learning from her neighbours what methods to adopt in evading them, the first phase of making beer for her husband is succeeded by the permanent and more important stage of making beer as an industry.

Of the traditionally prescribed etiquette and procedure of beer-drinking prevailing in the kraals nought is left in Rooiyard. Traditional rules of beer-drinking are still observed in some of the better-class homes in the Native Western location. The host drinks first and offers thanks to the ancestors. The youngest man present is then called upon to offer, in a kneeling posture, the pot of beer to the oldest and most venerable man present. When all the men have drunk, the women may be privileged to drink too, which they do on their bended knees after giving thanks by clapping their hands. But this procedure is apparently only followed in those homes where beer is not for sale. Where beer-making has become an industry, the host is often absent when the beer is sold. Women, as regular customers who pay for their drink, do not wait to be bidden to drink. The pot is snatched from hand to hand where there is more than one customer present, while criticism or commendation of the beer is freely passed.

The traditional offering to the ancestors, before the living partake of the beer, has been discarded by the majority of Rooiyard beer-brewers. In some isolated instances the wife regularly takes a tin, or, where tradition is yet more closely followed, a gourd of the newly brewed beer and throws it outside the room with a prayer to the ancestors to look well after her and hers. Other women occasionally remember the ancestors when trade has been bad or when ill-health has come upon them. Then they, too, will make an offering of beer to their ancestors before partaking of it themselves. Some women regard the custom with contempt as being performed only by "red" or "blanket" Natives and not by educated Natives. Some regard the offering to the ancestors as conflicting with their Christian religion and so have discarded it; while yet others, having been reared in a town, do not even know of the custom, and, when questioned, dismiss the whole concept as "nonsense." A Zulu woman, at whose home a small pot of beer, the "beer of the *amadlozi*," is put aside and is only to be drunk by the old people when all the other beer has been finished, cannot follow this traditional custom in Rooiyard, where a pot of

beer standing in the room would lead to her arrest. In common with many others, she observes traditional custom whilst at the kraal and omits it in town. On the whole, it can be stated that very few women regularly offer of their newly brewed beer to their ancestors and hence the importance of beer, as a sacrificial offering, is greatly lessened under new urban conditions. Many more, but still a minority, only remember their ancestors when ill-luck overtakes them ; then, sporadically, beer-offerings are made for the purpose of regaining good-luck, stimulating trade and increasing beer-sales. This procedure has even been adopted by Cape Coloureds, who dab a little of their beer, wine, brandy, whiskey or gin on the door of the room so that good luck may be with them and that their beer or liquor business may prosper.

But on the whole, the women are inclined to put their faith in the *inyanga*, who will sell them "*isibunga* " so that they may have plentiful beer-custom. "*Isibunga* " is a fatty concoction, consisting of numerous roots and herbs well mixed with goat's and, often, other fats, the ingredients varying according to individual prescriptions. It appears to be an adaptation to urban needs, unknown in the kraal, of medicines which, under tribal conditions, were used for luck, popularity and success. A little of the *isibunga* is burnt at the door of the room in the early morning of the day on which the beer is ready for sale. Sometimes the rite is accompanied by a short prayer to the ancestors ; usually the burning of the *isibunga* is in itself considered sufficient to procure favourable results. In addition, there are medicines to prevent beer and successful trade being bewitched and spoilt by jealous neighbours. Although the belief that beer may be spoilt and custom turned away by the "*abathakathi* " (sorcerers) is fairly extensive, the use of medicines to counteract the evil is exceedingly restricted. Medicine for the increase of beer-custom, on the other hand, is extensively employed.

In the closer association of beer with magical rites rather than with religious ritual and in the religious ritual itself, which is usually directed towards increasing the sale of beer instead of offering the beer as an accessory in the ritual, it is apparent how important is the commercial aspect of beer-brewing. Practically without exception, the family is dependent on the sale of beer to cover part of the expenses necessarily incidental to urban residence. It is on account of the benefits accruing from the beer business that the Natives pay the high rents in Rooiyard and live, crowded together, in the small rooms with their leaking roofs and rotten flooring boards. After being evicted from yards in Bertrams, they came clamouring for accommodation in Rooiyard. When they received notices of eviction from Rooiyard (which incidently have not been

put into force) they searched frantically for rooms in other yards. Rather than go to the locations, many of the women preferred to return to the reserves for if they could not sell beer—and beer business in the locations is notoriously bad—their value as an economic asset to the family ceased.

A woman who does not participate in the beer business is a “bad” wife. Men have complained bitterly that their wives, pleading ill-health as an excuse, refuse to brew beer. Beer-making, arduous in the extreme, demands the expenditure of considerable energy. The chief labour is involved in cleaning the tin, which is buried several feet below the level of the ground, in digging up the opening every time beer is put in or taken out, and in firmly plastering down the earth again, so that the police may not notice any unevenness in the ground. This work demands rapidity and alertness, having to be performed in the intervals between police inspections. Yet it is not uncommon for a pregnant woman to continue her beer-brewing till the day before her confinement.

Information received concerning the value of week-end sales, the proceeds of which vary from 1/6 to 25/-, furnishes abundant proof of the great variation in turnover of different brewers. To ensure stability of sales, a woman must have a certain number of regular customers, who patronize her every week-end and frequently on Wednesdays. Beer is usually brewed twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays; but the police often find and destroy a buried pot of beer and then fresh beer must be rapidly prepared against the sale-day. A woman may have to prepare her beer as many as three times as a result of the probing crow-bar of the police. The number of customers, who regularly patronize a woman, is dependent on the quality of her beer, on her willingness to extend credit, and on the number of her own and her husband's friends and relatives. It is usually the friends of her husband who form the nucleus of a woman's beer-custom. Tribal affiliation is not of primary importance in determining the choice of a would-be purchaser. Once a man has found one of the several varieties of beer to suit his taste, his patronage remains constant. A man will even buy his beer regularly from another woman, if his wife's beer does not appeal to his palate. The following are examples of typical beer-custom:—A Kxatla woman, living with a Xhosa man, has four Sotho and five Xhosa customers, all male; a Zulu woman, married to a Swazi, has three Sotho women customers and one Zulu, two Swazi and two Sotho male customers; a Zulu wife, with a Senga husband, has one Cape Coloured and one Zulu female customer, and nine male customers consisting of Zulus, Shangaans and Rhodesian Natives. From these examples, it is apparent that a woman relies, to some extent, on men and

women from her own and her husband's tribes to form part of her beer custom. These customers may each spend with her from 2/- to 10/- a week. The credit system is firmly entrenched and at the beginning of the month it not seldom occurs that some Natives may have to hand over the major portion of their wages to settle their beer accounts.

Recent arrivals from the kraal frequently find it very difficult to establish a regular connection and remain for a long time dependent on casual custom. A Zulu woman, resident in Rooiyard for six months, had two Zulu men as regular customers, who each bought beer to the value of 2/- every alternate week-end. After a time, these two men went home and she was left solely dependent on casual custom and on the goodwill of her neighbours, who sent her their customers when their own beer was exhausted. For this service no compensation is demanded. Goodwill and friendship only determine the choice of a woman to whom another woman will send her own customers.

It has repeatedly been emphasized that economic necessity is the force instrumental in stimulating and maintaining the illicit beer-trade. A woman desires to please her husband and provide beer for him, but above all, she must increase the family revenue. In every discussion with Rooiyard women, their anxiety regarding their "business" and their dependence on it was revealed. Dr. Orenstein, in his evidence before the Native Economic Commission, "estimated the lowest cost of a diet consistent with the maintenance of reasonable health for a Native family of four, consisting of a man, his wife and two children, one of five years and one of two, to be, in Johannesburg, approximately 60/- per month."³ Major Cooke, as a result of his investigations, came to the conclusion that a minimum income of £6 per month is essential to the well-being of a Native family of four persons in Johannesburg.⁴ In the face of these estimates, it is obvious that a woman must supplement the income of her husband, which averages 18/1 per week among Rooiyard men. Some women attempt to implement family revenue by a legitimate form of employment. But the combination of domestic duties and outside employment presents many difficulties. The children must be left to the casual care of a neighbour; the preparation of the food and the care of the room must inevitably suffer neglect. Among one hundred families under observation, six of the wives were employed by Europeans as domestic servants, and sixteen contributed to the family revenue by washing for European employers. Of these sixteen, twelve earned between 4/- and 15/- per month at their occupation. Hence, of one hundred

³ U.G. 22, 1932. Par. 232.

⁴ U.G. 22, 1232. Par. 233.

women, only 10% earned £1 or more per month at a legitimate occupation. The total revenue contributed by Rooiyard women in this way is £23 12s. 6d. per month. For the rest, the beer business must furnish them with the additional income, over and above that earned by their husbands, necessary to cover their living expenses.

Of nine widows or deserted wives living in Rooiyard, six are almost wholly dependent on beer-brewing for their livelihood, while only one can altogether dispense with beer-selling. During a period of eight months' investigation in Rooiyard, the male heads of various families were unemployed often for months at a time. A reserve fund of savings, accumulated during good times, there was none, for the European concept of saving would seem to diffuse very slowly among the Bantu. Any surplus monies are immediately utilised to buy furniture, for it is in material culture that the greatest desire to approximate to European standards is evinced. During these periods of unemployment, the family subsisted on the wife's beer-earnings, supplemented, when necessary, by occasional loans from relatives or friends.

Emphasis has been laid on the increased expenditure in an urban area. This increased expenditure is due, not so much to an actual higher standard of living, as to an increase in the necessities of life, which are involved in urban residence, and to the fact that many of the articles which, in the Reserves need not be purchased at all, have to be paid for in cash in the towns. Every morsel of food has to be bought under urban conditions, and, though Native diet is still extremely monotonous when compared with European diet, it has been considerably modified. Meat, which only made its appearance on festive occasions in tribal life, has become an article of daily diet in town. Most housewives consider that their daily expenditure on meat should be at least 6d. for which they receive $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of meat. Actual budgets show that families spend from 5/- to 27/6, with an average of about 12/6, per month on meat. The number of individuals constituting a family is of less importance than are the exigencies of finance in determining the amount which is bought. Sugar, tea and coffee have become indispensable to the urban Native. With the exception of condensed milk, tinned goods do not figure to any considerable extent in the budgets and the sale of these articles is very limited. Mealie-meal is still used extensively for two reasons; it is economical, and it is still preferred by the large majority of Natives as an article of food. Vegetables and fruit, mainly for reasons of economy, do not figure greatly in Native diet. Mealie-meal, meat, tea, sugar and occasionally bread, with a monotonous repetition, constitute the main articles of Native diet.

Next to food, coal and wood are expenses which do not occur under tribal conditions. Rent, averaging 29/- per month, absorbs more than one third of the average Native's wages. Clothing, especially for working men and school-going children, must maintain a standard of decency, and Native women are coming, more and more, to compete with each other in the variety and fashion of their clothing. European furniture, such as beds, tables, cupboards and sideboards are beginning to be a criterion of social status, and are also a necessity for some measure of comfort in the cramped conditions under which urban Natives live. Native women are demanding sewing machines as an ordinary household requisite. Beer tins are a constant drain on resources ; and school and church fees, life insurance and burial-society premiums, irregularly paid as they are, are all additional avenues of expenditure. Tobacco and cigarettes are tending to become a vital necessity, comparable with food, to many men and to a lesser extent, to the Native women.

Estimates as to the actual monthly income accruing from beer-sales have been exceedingly difficult to obtain, owing to the suspicious antagonism and hostility which direct enquiries evoked. There is no doubt, moreover, that there has been a very considerable decrease in beer-sales during the last two years, owing to unemployment and the fall in wages. Formerly, women informants state, it was not uncommon for them to sell beer to the value of £2 to £3 over a week-end. Nowadays, a week-end sale realizing £1 is considered satisfactory. The owner of the shop in Rooiyard states that the monthly takings in 1931 were about £500, whereas now they total between £250 and £280. This decrease is directly ascribable to the falling off in beer sales as the fall in wages has not been sufficiently great solely to account for it. As the shop is situated in the yard, a very important portion of the purchases of Rooiyard Natives is effected there and the variations in the monthly turnover of the shop afford a fair criterion of Rooiyard's purchasing power.

In two instances only was it possible to obtain direct information from two Native women of their monthly beer takings. These totalled £3 17s. 6d. and £4 16s. respectively. Actually it is probable that both women sold more beer than indicated, as occasional lapses in their daily budgets were observed. Both these women had come to Rooiyard from Bertrams, whence a considerable portion of their beer-custom followed them. Yet both complained that their sales had fallen off.

In order to gain some insight into the value of the beer-business to Rooiyard women, the attempt was made, where possible, to train women to keep a budget of their daily expenditure. The difference between the

legitimate, known income and expenditure yielded the profit realized from the sale of beer. The reliability of estimates obtained in this manner depends on the correctness of the hypothesis that the Native family will spend what money it has. After making careful enquiries as to savings and the amount of money on hand at any particular time, this hypothesis was considered safe. For, even if it does not apply to the whole of the Native population—and there are Natives with quite considerable savings in the Post Office and Natives who own plots of land or herds entirely as a result of their own endeavours—it is certainly applicable to those Natives whose monthly budgets are here adduced as proof.

From these sources a wide variation in profits from the sale of beer, as also a great difference in the standards of living of different Native families in the same locality are manifest. Six budgets, three of families with children and three of childless couples, have been chosen on the ground of the reliability of which their compilers gave proof. Only one of the families with children, consisting of husband, wife and three small children, spent more on food than the amount estimated by Dr. Orenstein as being consistent with "the maintainance of reasonable health." This family spent £4 15s. 0d. on food out of a total expenditure of £8 12s. 1d. per month, of which £4 was contributed by the husband's wages, £1 5s. 0d. was earned by the wife from employment at washing, and £3 7s. 1d. is accounted for by the profits realized from the sale of beer. A family of seven, consisting of husband, wife and five children ranging from six months to thirteen years of age, spent per month during five successive months £3 12s. 8d., £4 7s. 10d., £3 11s. 11d., £2 19s. 9d., £4 1s. 11d. The amounts spent on food were £1 17s. 8d., £1 16s. 8d., £1 13s. 11d., £1 12s. 4d., £1 12s. 11d. respectively. The family could hardly be said to have been well-nourished and one or other of the children was continually ill. The husband earned 12/- per week. The dependence of such a family on the beer-trade, in view of the inability of a woman with five small children to contribute to the maintainance of the family by legal employment, need hardly be stressed. The wife contributed approximately £1 4s. 8d., £1 19s. 10d., £1 3s. 11s., 11s. 9d., £1 13s. 11d. to the family income during the five months under review by the sale of beer. A family of four consisting of husband, wife and two children of four and eight years of age respectively, spent £2 2s. 11d., £2 16s. 9d., £5 5s. 10d. (of which last amount £2 10s. 0d. went towards arrear rent) during three successive months. Expenditure on food amounted to £1 0s. 9d., £1 5s. 3d., £1 12s. 7d. The husband earned 27/6 per week during the last two weeks of the period during which the budget was kept; for the rest of the time he was unemployed and earned small irregular amounts

from occasional daily employment. The wife was pregnant and could not go out to work. She made beer during the whole time, but on account of her poor custom she never contributed more, and usually less, than 30/- to the family income in any one month.

Of the childless couples before mentioned, the first family to be discussed has undoubtedly accustomed itself to a higher standard of living than the majority of Rooiyard inhabitants. The wife was born and reared in Kimberley and was practically ignorant of the customs of her people, the Sotho. In her diet, she has adopted European standards and mealie-meal, the use of which was confined to beer-brewing, never figured in her menu—an uncommon feature, for the majority of Natives still show a marked preference for their original diet, in which mealie-meal is of major importance. Her room was the best furnished in Rooiyard, and during the time the budget was compiled she regularly paid off 25/- and 20/- per month for a sideboard and gramophone respectively. The monthly expenditure for husband and wife during four successive months was £7 12s. 0d., £8 6s. 1d., £7 0s. 5d., £7 11s. 1d. of which £2 0s. 3d., £2 5s. 8d., £1 19s. 10d., £2 6s. 7d. was spent on food. The husband earned 22/6 per week and the wife £3 2s. 0d., £3 16s. 1d., £2 10s. 5d., £3 1s. 1d. during these four months from her comparatively active beer trade. A Xhosa couple spent £8 2s. 7d. and £6 14s. 5d. of which £3 16s. 9d. and £3 4s. 3d. was expenditure on food, during two successive months. The husband contributed £3 7s. 6d. per month to the household expenses. The wife earned the remainder, £4 15s. 1d. and £3 6s. 11d. from the sale of beer. As a final example may be cited a Zulu couple who spent £2 0s. 11d., £4 4s. 0d., £3 7s. 6d., £8 13s. 5d., £3 11s. 1d. during five successive months. Food accounted for £1 3s. 11d., £1 4s. 11d., £1 1s. 3d., £1 6s. 4d., £1 7s. 1d. of the expenditure, although it must be mentioned that the husband, who worked in a bakery at 15/- per week, brought home bread and exchanged it with friends for sugar, coffee and soap. These items consequently do not figure in the budget. The wife did one day's washing per week at 2/6 per day. As she is a recent arrival in Rooiyard, she had practically no beer custom during the first two months but succeeded in making a profit of £6 10s. 0d. from the sale of beer mainly during the latter three months. £3 of this amount is being held in reserve for her forthcoming confinement. She has now reached that stage where she defrays all ordinary household expenses, such as food and clothing, from her beer profits, while her husband pays rent and extraordinary expenses, such as remitting money to his people in the Reserve and paying taxes. Other families in Rooiyard likewise give proof of the important part their beer business plays in assisting them to defray necessary expenses.

The brewing and selling of beer have led to the only kind of organisation observable in Rooiyard. The Natives there differ from the tribal Natives mainly in their pronounced individualism. Each family constitutes an isolated unit in town, little concerned with and seldom interested in its neighbours. There is no integrating bond to bind the families which have settled fortuitously in Rooiyard. Scandal, which is rife, testifies to only a passing interest in neighbours. But when a family departs from Rooiyard, the alliance theretofore formed with other families is seldom of sufficient strength to justify giving the family's new address. It is still to relatives and friends in the country that the urban Native is bound by ties of common interest and love.

Commercialised beer-brewing has given rise to an institution known as the "stockfair," which can be roughly defined as a mutual benefit society. Stockfair is primarily a women's society, although men have infrequently tried to adopt it. The stockfair has two functions; to assist in disposing of any surplus beer which has remained unsold during the week-end, and to act as a kind of savings society. To this end a number of women form a stockfair, which meets every Monday from 12 a.m. to 1.30 p.m., each week in the room of a different member, who becomes the "owner" of the stockfair for that morning. Each woman brings a stipulated amount to the owner of the stockfair. Formerly 10/- was the amount of the weekly subscription, but now, owing to bad times, 5/- or 2/6 is the more usual amount. Visitors, who pay an entrance fee of 6d. are eagerly welcomed to the stockfair. The owner of the stockfair provides beer for the members and for the visitors. Members can drink as much as they desire, and visitors receive twice as much as they would receive for 6d. at any other time. As some women, though they do not drink beer, are nevertheless desirous of attending a stockfair, attracted by its sociability, lemonade and cake are provided for them. Although, originally, the stockfair was designed to provide a means of disposing of surplus beer cheaply, most members actually brew fresh beer when it is their turn to be the owners of the stockfair. Other women, denying the vaunted advantages of stockfair membership, frequently sell their surplus beer on Mondays at a cut price, usually at half-price.

Women only are members of the Monday stockfair, but men may be present as visitors. The number of members varies from three, as a minimum, to six or eight. Tribal bonds are of no importance in determining membership of any particular stockfair. One stockfair consisted of one Ndebele, one Pedi, two Zulu and two Kxatla women. Another consisted of one Cape Coloured, one Pedi and two Zulu women. Members of these two stockfairs were drawn exclusively from Rooiryad

but there are several stockfairs with members from different yards in Doornfontein and in the City proper. Several stockfairs attracted four to five visitors, but only one attracted as many as nine. This means that, apart from regular subscriptions from members, beer sales are very limited. It may be mentioned that every stockfair has a bookkeeper, who keeps an account of subscriptions and entrance fees. Actually no one but the bookkeeper has been observed to refer to the books or to show any interest whatsoever in them.

Only once, during eight months, was there an attempt made by men to form a stockfair. Two Rooiyard men and two domestic servants from Yeoville commenced a stockfair on Sunday mornings. The regular subscription was 15/- per week, and the amount collected from entrance fees was 20/- on the inaugural Sunday. The initiator of the stockfair, a Manyika boy, was the official bookkeeper and received 5/- per stockfair for his labours. His wife made the beer for the two outside boys and received 8/6 per stockfair from them, thus showing a profit of approximately 5/-. This stockfair lasted for about two months and was then discontinued, for the subscriptions were considered prohibitive and entrance fees showed a considerable decrease.

The attraction of the stockfair for the Native lies in the facility it offers for saving. To pay 2/6 for five weeks and to receive 12/6 in the sixth week appears as a saving to many Native women. Their handling of money is still uneconomic and uncertain, even after many years of urban residence. This weakness is further revealed in one of the reasons given for their reluctance to go to the locations where monthly rent, which is lower than in Rooiyard, must be paid in a lump sum. "Here," they say, "we pay 10/-, 10/-, 10/-." But it must not be overlooked that there is at least an equal number of Native women who are aware of the speciousness of the claim that "stockfair is saving," and they are also aware of the abuse to which the institution lends itself.

The stockfair is a very unstable organisation. The permanency of an institution like this, which can so readily be abused, cannot be expected. Members have no means of enforcing payment of subscriptions. Hence, if the owner has paid regularly for five weeks and two members discontinue attendance at her stockfair, pleading lack of money, she shows a loss which cannot be made good. For this reason, after periods, varying from two to six months, a stockfair is invariably disbanded. One informant stated that if a member is arrested for beer-brewing, it is the duty of the members of that stockfair to contribute to her fine. No evidence to substantiate this assertion was found in Rooiyard.

The illicit beer trade has also been instrumental in giving rise to a more organised form of recreation in the form of dances and concerts, the primary purpose of which is to attract custom and to promote beer sales. On Saturday nights dances and concerts were arranged in Rooiyard, often in as many as six or eight different rooms. Till some two months ago this form of entertainment flourished ; but when complaints of disturbances reached the authorities in increasing numbers, the owner of Rooiyard prohibited the continuance of this form of entertainment by making the conveners subject to twenty-four hours' notice. Before this ban was enforced dances were popular and profitable. The small room was divested of all furniture with the exception of some benches ranged along the wall. A band, usually consisting of four or six guitar players, was engaged for about 7/6 per night. Beer was brewed, food was prepared and at 6 p.m. on Saturday the dance commenced to continue for a full twelve hours. An entrance fee of 6d. for men and 3d. for women was charged. European dancing was most commonly the rule, although in some instances, especially when a woman had not the necessary money to engage a band, Native dancing took place, the women sitting round the room clapping, the men singing and dancing. These dances were extremely popular. Men sometimes brought their own partners. Often men and women came separately and acquaintance soon ripened in the convivial atmosphere. Beer sales were brisk. In addition stews, roast chicken, cigarettes, tea and lemonade were sold. The profit on such an evening's entertainment amounted to not less than £1 and often to £2. The men attending such a dance were usually of the tribes of the organiser and of her husband. The women, on the other hand, represented a far more varied assortment of tribes.

Concerts were occasionally arranged by a Zulu woman, who engaged two choirs of four Zulu boys each to sing till the early hours of Sunday morning. Only Zulu men and women attended her concerts. She charged 6d. entrance for men and women and she sold three varieties of beer as also stew, chicken, cigarettes and lemonade. Another Zulu woman engaged a troupe of Zulu boys to dance in the private yard of the shop in Rooiyard on Sunday afternoons. Instead of paying the performers in cash, she brewed a two gallon tin of beer for them at a cost of 1/6. On one occasion, by charging 6d. entrance for adults and 1d. for children, she made £1 10s. 4d.

It is in connection with the organisation of dances and concerts and with the brewing of beer that Rooiyard women display a certain amount of co-operation, a co-operation which is conspicuously absent in their other activities. Neighbours assist each other while beer is being brewed.

One woman will sit keeping a look-out for the police or plain clothes Native detectives, ready to give the alarm, while her neighbour is engaged in mixing and straining her beer. Neighbours or women of the same tribe will help each other in arranging an evening's entertainment. They will avoid arranging functions on the same night and will assist each other in serving food or taking entrance fees at the door. There is no payment for such services, except by way of reciprocity. If a woman is ill, she can often rely on a friend of her own tribe to brew beer for her. And, finally, when a woman has exhausted her own beer or has had the misfortune to have it overturned by the police, she will send her customers to a friend. In Rooiyard, where co-operation is so little in evidence, the reciprocity of service, which women extend to each other in the course of their beer-brewing activities, stands out in clear relief.

Two essential facts have now emerged ; that beer-brewing has become commercialised, and that Natives are, to a considerable extent, dependent on this form of industry. It is now necessary to consider the effects of beer-brewing, as an economic activity, on a typical " yard " populace. The changes which have taken place as a result of the beer-trade may conceivably be of far-reaching consequence. Some may be permanent while others may prove to be temporary. On the whole, the changes due to the illicit beer trade are not beneficial and, as such, they must be recognised and effectively dealt with.

First it must be emphasized that in yards, such as Rooiyard, a criminal population is in the process of creation. Beer-brewers are in continual conflict with the authorities ; they are continually being harassed by them, and a great part of their energy and interest is directed towards evading the police. The contacts of Natives with Europeans are confined mainly within the economic and legal spheres. The Natives realize that they are being exploited economically ; and to this must be added the further sense of injury consequent upon the European prohibition of beer-brewing. They have accepted the illegality of their position. Arrest and conviction for beer-brewing carries no social stigma. In the twelve months' period December 1st, 1932 to December 1st, 1933, 65 arrests for illegal possession of liquor were made in Rooiyard alone. In view of the frequency of arrests, the lack of social opprobrium consequent thereon is a natural corollary. Natives have come to expect only repression and interference from the European. Unpleasantness of some kind is anticipated from European contacts. Consequently, their attitude towards the European is one of suspicion and hostility. Work in Rooiyard was, for this reason, of greatly increased difficulty, for the inhabitants found it hard to believe that a European investigator could be disinterested.

Suspicion and hostility could only be allayed temporarily, and constant efforts were required to build up and retain the confidence of a very small fraction of the Rooiyard population. When, finally, the Natives received official orders of eviction from the municipal authorities, the great majority took this as a confirmation of all their suspicions. A European who has nothing to sell and no manifest mission to fulfill cannot be comprehended, as contacts of this nature have not fallen within the range of their experience.

The illegality of their occupation makes them cautious not only of the European but also of their own people, for it is well realized that jealous neighbours can lay information against the successful brewer with a flourishing beer trade. This attitude of caution, suspicion and hostility is imparted to the children, the adults of the next generation. As an example of a psychic conditioned reflex may be mentioned the case of a six months old child who was still being suckled when his mother was convicted for beer-brewing. As she lacked the means to pay the fine, she went to prison for four weeks with her child. Since that time, the child, now two years of age, will not suffer his father, who is a police boy, to caress him or in any way approach him unless he has first discarded his official uniform.

The beer itself, owing largely to the fact that the brewer's occupation as such is an illegal one, has undergone extremely harmful transformations. The preparation and maturation of the original kafir-beer or *mqombothi*,* consisting of *imithombo* (sprouted kafir-corn), mealie-meal and water, takes the best part of twenty-four hours. *Imithombo* and mealie-meal, mixed with water, must first stand for eight to twelve hours, according to the greater or lesser degree of warmth, till sour. After boiling this mixture for about one hour, it is spread out on a board or piece of corrugated iron to cool for at least an hour. It is then mixed with water, fresh *imithombo* is added, and the mixture is then allowed to ferment for four or five hours. Thereafter it is strained, and then only is the beer ready for consumption. Obviously, this lengthy process, so much of which has to be performed in the full view of the yard, exposes the brewer to the risk of police intervention. Consequently, numerous other beverages, the preparation of which occupies less than half the time required for *mqombothi*, are being manufactured. There are very many varieties of such drinks, but only four kinds have been encountered in Rooiyard. According to Rooiyard informants these beverages become the "fashion" for

* In Rooiyard, *utywala* is regarded as a generic name for beer of all kinds, while pure kaffir-corn beer is termed *mqombothi*.

varying periods. At one time *sekonvani* (Sotho) or *skokiaan* (Zulu) was, after *mqombothi*, almost exclusively in demand. At the present time *babaton* comes first in popularity, with *shimeya* or *shimeyani* as a close second. *Isiqatawiki* (kill-me-quick) is made to a much lesser degree. During the last quarter only *mqombothi*, for which the demand is constantly the greatest, *babaton* and *shimeya* were brewed in Rooiyard. With the exception of *mqombothi*, yeast, in greater or smaller quantities, is a common ingredient in these four varieties of drinks. For the rest, although there is a basic recipe for each concoction, brewers exercise their own discretion and ingenuity in the choice of such ingredients as will add to the potency of the drink. Women vary considerably in their ability as brewers for "it all depends on the lightness of your hand," as one informant stated. None of these four drinks requires boiling. The ingredients are mixed with warm water, and the brew ferments rapidly. It is then strained and is ready for consumption.

Isiqatawiki is made of sour porridge, bread, syrup, brown sugar, yeast and bran. *Sekonvani* is made of yeast, sugar and warm water. Four shillings' worth of yeast and one shillings' worth of sugar are the quantities commonly used to make two gallons of *skokiaan*. It is sold at 1/- per four-pound syrup tin. *Isishishimeyane*, now usually contracted to *shimeya*, was first concocted by the workers in sugar-cane fields. Its name is popularly conceived to be onomatopoeic, suggesting the swaying gait of an intoxicated man. One brewer in Rooiyard first cooked potatoes and then added black yeast, brown sugar, syrup and brandy to make *shimeya*. Another brewer enumerated 6d. hops, 1/3 golden syrup, 6d. brown sugar, 3d. white sugar, 6d. strained *imithombo*, 6d. potatoes (mashed with the skin) and 6d. yeast as a common recipe. This is sold at 6d. per Ellis Brown coffee tin. To these three drinks ingredients such as pineapple skin, brandy, whisky or carbide may, and frequently are, added. Every informant denied using these ingredients herself but asserted that other women did so. *Babaton* is made of yeast, *imithombo*, stale bread and white sugar. 8d. yeast, 6d. *imithombo*, 9d. white sugar and 9d. stale bread are considered sufficient to make two gallons of strong *babaton*. From this amount sales aggregating £1, at 6d. per Ellis Brown coffee tin, could reasonably be expected. For *mqombothi* 1/- *imithombo* and 6d. mealie-meal are sufficient to brew two gallons. This is likewise sold at 6d. per Ellis Brown coffee tin, although it must be emphasized that "scales," vary considerably and regular customers are always shown consideration. *Mqombothi* is the cheapest drink to manufacture, but the profits on all the beverages enumerated are very high. Fines for illegal possession of liquor and the destruction of quantities of ready brewed beer naturally

reduce the margin of profit. During the period December 1st, 1932 to December 1st, 1933, 3984 gallons of Native liquor were destroyed by the police. This does not include the liquor found in the possession of the accused in the aforementioned sixty-five arrests made for possession of liquor. This figure is indicative of the great amount of wastage in beer-brewing.

It is not, however, force of circumstances only which is responsible for the manufacture of these new drinks. There is also a growing demand on the part of the Native consumer for drinks other than *mqombothi*. As stated above definite fashions are found to prevail in the demand for certain drinks. The danger of these drinks lies in the harmful effects of the ingredients used in their manufacture, for the difference in alcoholic content between *mqombothi* and other Native drinks is not as great as might commonly be supposed. The analyses of Native liquors, kindly undertaken by Mr. O. G. Backeberg, show that the disparity in the alcoholic content of *mqombothi*, *babaton* and *shimeya* is not very appreciable. *Shimeya* showed the highest alcoholic percentage, 4.48% and 7.12% being the results obtained from two tests. *Mqombothi* and *babaton* with 3.06%, 4.54% and 3.76%, 4.56% alcoholic content respectively, showed no marked difference, the alcoholic content of *babaton* being only fractionally higher than that of *mqombothi*. From information kindly furnished by Dr. Marchand, the Government Analyst, it appears that the majority of Native liquors analysed by him showed 4% to 5% alcoholic content. Few tests yielded 7% to 8% alcoholic content, while liquors with an alcoholic content of 11% to 12% are extremely seldom encountered. In these last cases, having the highest alcoholic content, it is suspected that European liquors, such as brandy or whiskey, have been admixed.

But despite the fact that the present difference in alcoholic content between ordinary kafir-beer and other Native liquors is not very great, the brewing of beer other than *mqombothi* must definitely be discouraged. There is the continual danger of the alcoholic content becoming increasingly higher and of the nature of the ingredients used becoming increasingly more harmful. With the exception of *shimeya*, these newer types of beer are all of urban origin. In the Reserves and kraals, where a Native may drink his fill of beer without hindrance or interference, *skokiaan*, *babaton* and similar concoctions are unknown. But there is a possibility—admittedly remote and unsubstantiated by proof—that a diffusion of these beers of urban origin to the Reserves may take place. The continual flux of Native women brewers between Johannesburg and their homes in the country, and the growing demand of the consumer for these drinks indicate that this danger be taken into account.

The illicit sale of beer has had other ill-effects, and it is here maintained that these ill-effects are due to the illegality attaching to the brewing and sale of beer rather than to beer drinking in itself. The restraints observed at a beer-drink under tribal conditions—the relationship of host and guests, the demand that dignity be maintained, the opprobrium consequent upon unseemly behaviour, the frequent separation of the sexes—cannot be maintained in surroundings where beer is bought, and where the relationship between host and guest is converted into one between seller and purchaser. Drunkenness is alarmingly prevalent in Rooiyard. The reason, it is submitted, is largely to be found in the necessity for drinking quickly, as the danger of detection by the police is ever present. The otherwise comparatively innocuous *mqombothi* soon makes its effects noticeable if it is drunk quickly, instead of being imbibed slowly and at leisure, as was the custom under tribal conditions. Drinks such as *skokiaan* and *shimeyu* are extremely intoxicating; the effects of *isigataviki* it is claimed, occasionally with pride, often last three days.

Intoxication frequently leads to the quarrels and stabbing affrays, which are such a common feature of Rooiyard beer-drinks. Barely a week-end, when the sale of beer is most active, passed without some casualty occurring from fights, during the course of which many Natives were quick to resort to the use of knives. In this connection the return of arrests made in Rooiyard for the period December 1st, 1932 to December 1st, 1933 is of interest. There were fifteen arrests for common assault, seven for assault to harm, one for culpable homicide and one for murder. It must be borne in mind that many fights and brawls occur, which do not come to the knowledge of the police. Practically without exception, competition for women is the cause of fights. Usually the struggle for the favours of a woman is an individual affair between two men. It does occur, however, that tribesmen aid each other and the danger of a lengthy and organised fight is then greatly increased. In one instance, a Zulu discovered the wife of his friend, likewise a Zulu, shut up in her room with a Shangaan, while her husband was playing cards in a different room. The husband was informed of his wife's infidelity by his friend and, quick to revenge himself, he attacked the Shangaan lover of his wife. Immediately five Zulus and four Shangaans were involved in a fight, at the termination of which there were two serious casualties, both necessitating detention at the hospital. Apart from actual quarrels, it has happened that boys, intoxicated to the point of being unconscious of their surroundings, have run amok in the yard, stabbing blindly. Intoxication of women is not as frequent as that of men, although it is no uncommon occurrence in Rooiyard. A more serious aspect of the drinking habits

which are being formed by women, is that they spend on beer the money given them by their husbands for housekeeping expenses.

Prostitution, of which there is definite though indirect evidence in Rooiyard, cannot be dissociated from the illicit liquor trade. The localities where beer is on sale inevitably attract the unattached male. Neither the sanctions of tribal nor of family life are of sufficient influence in his new environment to restrict his actions. The Native beer customer, after drinking his fill, will make advances to the women around him ; nor will he fail to find a woman who, for 2/6, will accede to his request. Many single Natives, or Natives whose wives are in the country, form more permanent alliances for the length of their sojourn in town with urban Native women. These women may be widows or deserted wives ; or young girls who, unable to find employment or tired after a lengthy period of service, find it more convenient to have a lover to pay for their expenses. And, finally, there is the class of dissolute woman, married or single, who makes her livelihood passing from one man to another. "*Nyatsi*" (back-door husband) is the name given to the lover of a married woman who, unbeknown to her husband, succeeds in earning part of her alleged beer-money by having one or more *nyatsi*, who pays her for the favours she extends them.

The presence of comparatively large numbers of beer customers, with their wages in their pockets, undoubtedly fosters gambling. In Rooiyard alone, there are two professional card-players, who are solely dependent on gambling for their livelihood. Gambling and drinking often constitute a vicious alliance ; the Native comes to drink a woman's beer, is tempted by her husband to try his luck at cards and then, as the hours pass, drinks more. In this way, gambling and the sale of beer form a lucrative partnership.

Many respectable and prudent mothers send their daughters home to relatives in the country, knowing full well that, in the environment of a Rooiyard, girls will commence their sexual experiences and form the habit of drinking very soon after the age of puberty. Some mothers expressly retain their daughters to attract beer custom. It is obvious that, in addition to living in insanitary and unhealthy surroundings, the scenes which children, from earliest childhood, are called upon to witness must react unfavourably upon character development. In an environment where intoxication is daily in evidence, where arrest is a social norm and where illegitimacy is accepted without comment, it is not surprising to find the force of former sanctions weakening.

Beer-brewing also interferes with religion. Of one hundred women, only six did not belong, nominally at least, to one of the Christian churches.

But further interrogation frequently elicited the information that in Johannesburg they had not attended any church service for "here beer is our church." How could they, it was asked, attend church when they had to sell their beer? It must, however, be stressed that beer-brewing and beer-selling are not solely responsible for the diminishing interest which Natives display in Christianity. The urbanisation of the Native, involving frequently the severance of his bonds with his home missionary has apparently tended to draw him away from the Christian religion. It is tentatively suggested that the urban Native, disillusioned in his Christian faith, is reverting to his tribal religion or else is dispensing with religion altogether.

Beer-brewing is primarily the concern of women, though occasionally men brew beer themselves and often succeed in amassing comparative wealth by means of this lucrative trade. But in Rooiyard, the men go out to work in the European labour market and the women are in charge of the beer trade. Obviously, the status of women must be affected as a result of the earning ability which the sale of beer affords them. They thereby become an economic asset to their families, and their earning capacity secures for them a degree of economic security and independence.

Financial arrangements between husband and wife vary within a confined limit. It is most common for the husband to hand over the total of his earnings to his wife, and then ask her for money to provide for his personal requirements, such as cigarettes and clothing. In some cases a husband may give his wife 7/6 to 10/- per week for household expenses, paying for the rent himself and retaining any balance for his own needs. Occasionally, as in the case of a man who gives his wife 7/6 of his weekly wages, which amount to 27/6, disputes over money strain and weaken the relationship between husband and wife. Generally however, husband and wife settle their monetary policy amicably. The wife is entirely responsible for ordinary household expenditure. Any extraordinary expenditure, apart from food and rent, she discusses with her husband, and she will not even buy clothing for herself until he has sanctioned the proposed expenditure.

A woman's beer profits and her husband's wages are usually merged. The wife controls the joint fund and, where some degree of harmony and co-operation between husband and wife exists, consultation between them precedes any expenditure other than that on household requirements. In legalised unions, a wife will practically without exception spend her own and her husband's money with all forethought and economy, and she will not deny her husband jurisdiction over money which she has

earned herself. It is usually only in temporary unions that a woman, no doubt impelled by the insecurity of her own position, will devote her money exclusively to her own needs. Her earning power secures for the Native woman greater equality; it invests her with some measure of family authority and control. The effects of this gradual emanipation of women are not strikingly noticeable in the case of a harmonious marriage relationship. It is generally the woman, deserted by her husband, who gives proof of her newly acquired independence by fending for herself instead of returning to her people as an unwanted wife.

From this discussion it is evident that, just as beer-brewing was under tribal conditions, so is the illicit liquor trade under urban conditions an integral portion of the existence of a Native populace, such as represented by the Rooiyard Natives. Prohibitive measures, fortified as they are by heavy penalties for infringement of the law, have proved unavailing. They have merely succeeded in giving rise to greater evils, such as the brewing of more pernicious varieties of kafir-beer. The Native demands his national drink as his right and he demands the right to brew and drink it in his home. In an unsuccessful attempt to deny him this right, a chain of greater evils has been forged. Prohibition failed completely in America. There seems even less reason for assuming that partial prohibition—limited to Natives only and open to serious abuse by sections of the White population—can succeed in the urban centres of South Africa. There is every justification for endorsing the conclusion of the Report of the Native Economic Commission that total prohibition, in regard to *utywala*, has been a failure and “that its abandonment is the only reasonable course that can be taken.” We dare not bring into being a Native populace of professional boot-leggers.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NATIVE LIFE IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

(Continued)

FINDINGS OF THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION,
1930-1932, COLLATED AND SUMMARISED

By J. D. RHEINALLT JONES and A. L. SAFFERY

PART IV

I. NATIVE EDUCATION

HISTORICAL

Missionary responsibility

574-590. For over a hundred years missionary societies have been mainly responsible for the development of Native education. For over fifty years they bore the whole burden, financial and administrative, of Native education; two of the missionary organisations spent over £1,000,000 on Native education in the last hundred years. In addition to primary education, facilities have been developed for secondary education and vocational training and also for higher education; the last being provided at the South African Native College at Fort Hare, Cape Province [subject to the syllabuses of the University of South Africa.—*Editors*].

Government Support

During the forty or fifty years prior to Union, Government grants for Native Education were made at an increasing rate; but for the most part the grants did not cover more than the salaries or portions of the salaries of teachers and the cost of inspectoral supervision, the provision of buildings and equipment and the school administration being left to the missionary bodies.

Central Government Finance

591-599. In 1922 the Financial Relations Act was passed as a result of the action of the Transvaal Provincial Council in imposing a direct tax on Natives, to be used to meet increasing expenditure on Native education. Under this Act, while the Provinces were debarred from imposing any direct taxation on the persons, habitations or lands of Natives, the

Union Government undertook the responsibility for the ordinary finances of Native education. The Treasury, on the security of a proposed education tax, advanced £250,000 to allow for immediate expansion and to provide for increases in the salaries of teachers in Native schools.

In 1924 the Union Government agreed with the Provincial administrations to take the Provincial expenditures on Native education in 1920-21 as the basis of the subsidies to be paid to the Provinces—the total amount agreed upon being £340,000.

Native Development Fund

In 1925 the Natives Taxation and Development Act was passed imposing a General Tax of £1 per annum per male adult (in addition to a local tax upon Natives in the Reserves) and providing for the allocation of one-fifth of the General Tax to a Native Development Fund, into which was also paid the £340,000 already mentioned. From this Fund grants are made to the Provinces for Native education and from it also agricultural training and Native hospitals are subsidised. In 1929-30 the total amount paid out to the Provinces for Native education was £562,320.

600. The Commission believes that this method is confusing to Natives who think that only the one-fifth of the General Tax is paid into the Native Development Fund. It suggests that it would be better to credit the Native Development Fund with a percentage of the General Tax equal to the £340,000 and the four shillings in the pound, (which amounts to about £200,000).

Present Position of Native Education

601. There are over 3,000 schools with 300,000 pupils. There are twenty-six teacher training and vocational schools, ten high schools and a college [preparing for University examinations—*Editors.*]. The present State expenditure on Native education exceeds £600,000 per annum.

THE CONTENT OF NATIVE EDUCATION

The Commission is sharply divided from this point onward in the discussion on Native Education, the minority consisting of Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts.

(a) Majority View

Two Types

603-610. In order to measure the advance that has been made in Native education the majority Commissioners consider there should be two types of Native education. The first should be "a type of technical edu-

cation having the object of qualifying its recipients in certain valuable accomplishments" i.e. the provision of vocational qualifications. In this class would be placed the education of a certain number of Natives to become teachers, clerks, interpreters, nurses, medical practitioners and so forth. The second type the Commissioners "call social education, the sort of education needed to free the mass of Natives from their anti-progressive heritage, to aid in their adjustment to the demands of civilised life, and to instil in them the desire for progress in a civilised community—in short to fit them for the economic system which we visualise for the future, and which is now the only basis on which their community can continue an orderly existence. The main object of this sort of education is to create better social and economic environment for the whole race."

The Commission considers that the type of education provided at the present time falls largely into the first type and has the effect of turning out Natives who seek non-manual work. It is true that the Natives themselves appear to be satisfied with this type of education and only complain that there is not enough of it. The Principal of the South African Native College testified that there is a greater demand for the products of that College than can be supplied. The Commission, however, holds that there is a surplus of trained teachers and of Natives who have passed through high schools. It is stated that there is a general demand for more openings for these, chiefly in occupations now manned by Europeans. The Commission holds (see par. 93) that there ought to be opportunities for Natives to serve their own people in the Reserves. (Mr. Lucas and Dr. Roberts in par. 95 point out that the most advanced of the Natives find employment amongst their own people). The Commission considers that the supply of trained Natives "now exceeds the demand and that the development of the Native areas should be pushed on to enable the best use to be made of such Natives as qualify themselves for the educational leadership of their people."

The Commission states that any suggestion to alter the present kind of education arouses the suspicion of the Natives as being an attempt to foist some inferior kind upon them.

611-613. The Commission considers that the education now provided is largely ineffective. Nearly sixty per cent of the children at school do not go beyond the sub-standards; less than one-third reach Standard II, and only .05 go beyond Standard VI (par. 622) and the great majority only learn to read simple words and do simple sums, the instruction is given in a foreign tongue, and generally, "a good deal of what is taught in Native Schools is mere parrot work."

624-627, 629. After a discussion of the statistical and financial aspects of Native education, the Commission expresses the view that "it would be unwarrantable optimism to expect that the large additional funds that would be necessary to make education permeate the whole or even a considerable part of the Native population would be available on the present system." It considers that the surest way by which the Natives can secure the benefits of civilisation is by the development of their wealth-earning potentialities which will enable them to pay for their own educational or other advancement. The progress of the Natives will depend upon harder and more efficient work to create the necessary surpluses to secure education and the other benefits of civilisation. The Commission considers that the present type of education is unsuitable for Native needs and advancement. It is modelled upon European school education which has its roots in a civilised society, whereas for the most part that type of society is absent from Native life. It assumes and encourages the idea that the Native must rise on the shoulders of the White man and in a non-Native i.e., European, environment.

While "the European must give the Native a start on his upward path the more the European does for the Native and the less he does for himself the slower will his real advancement be." "Civilisation can only be achieved by tireless effort and the great bulk of the Natives are still at the stage when they have to master this lesson." "Unless the Native can free himself from the idea that a good life consists of plenty of food, beer, and leisure, females to work for him, herds on which to feast his eyes, and occasional pacifying of the spirits (*Amadlozi*) by animal sacrifices, he will make little progress towards civilisation."

630-631. The Natives' whole outlook on life must therefore, be changed, and "the great bulk of the Native population will derive much more good from teaching on simple hygiene, elementary agricultural methods and a comprehension of the fact that spirits benevolent or malevolent do not account for their good fortune or ill-fortune, rather than from ordinary school teaching." "For the tribal Native there is a great deal that precedes the three R's and that is definitely more important than the three R's." "While a measure of book education is essential a redressing of the balance is clearly indicated."

Aims of Native Education

628. The Commission considers that the aims of Native education should be "social" and should embrace the following purposes:—

- (1) It should aim at freeing the mass of Natives from their reactionary conceptions—animism and witchcraft, certain phases of the

cattle cult, and "doctoring" of lands as an alternative to proper cultivation, the insistence on a large amount of leisure, and all the mass of primitive fears and taboos, which are the real reasons for their backwardness. The removal or transformation of these is the first problem of Native Education.

- (2) It should not pursue a course which makes the Native dissatisfied with everything in his own background. But it should proceed from the foundations of Native society, and build up, giving the Native a pride in his own people, and a desire to develop what is good (and of this there is a great deal) in his own institutions.
- (3) It should aim at making the educated Native a missionary to his own people, an instrument in advancing their material progress without which they will never as a people achieve cultural progress.

632. For the few thousand Natives who are needed for the occupations already mentioned "a super structure of school education must be erected on this foundation of social education."

636. The Commission also endorses the policy laid down by the Native Affairs Commission quoted in paragraph 597 as follows :—

- "(1) The main object should be to provide elementary education for Native children.
- (2) The system of education should emphasize character training, habits of industry, use and appreciation of the vernacular, the official languages, health and hygiene, agriculture and other practical subjects.
- (3) To provide teachers for these schools a limited number of students should be trained at approved training institutions. These institutions should be selected on a regional rather than on a denominational basis.
- (4) There should be established in certain areas (on a regional rather than on a denominational basis) a limited number of Native high schools designed :
 - (a) to train men as farm demonstrators ;
 - (b) to train women as home demonstrators ;
 - (c) to offer vocational training to a limited number of Natives, e.g., that of secretary to Native chief or Native civil servant in Native areas, etc., and

(d) to prepare students for admission to the South African Native College."

635. "If the Development Fund were to fall more into line in improving Native agricultural methods, in making larger grants to Native hospitals and to the training of nurses, it would actually be accomplishing much that your Commission has in view."

Native Co-operation

638. The Commission considers that efforts should be made to allay the suspicion of the Native people and to secure their co-operation for this "social education" and suggests that these could be effected in several ways, and suggests the following :

- "(1) By placing emphasis on the importance of reaching the masses of tribal Natives, with a simple preliminary instruction tending to open their minds to fundamental principles, and to prepare the ground for the sowing of new ideas upon which their general advance to a civilised state must be based ; and at the same time making plain how many difficulties for Natives themselves are likely to be created by the present unselective and incomplete form of instruction.
- (2) By making liberal provision for the completer education of the future teachers and leaders of the Native peoples—showing thereby that there is a genuine plan to equip the Natives themselves with one of the principal requisites for national advance, namely, an adequate supply of well educated men and women capable of fulfilling their natural task of leading their people on the upward march.
- (3) By making plain that the present stage of Native development is an intermediate stage ; that it rests largely with the Natives themselves, first to create the social and economic conditions which will make a more advanced system of education for the whole race possible and practicable, and secondly, when those conditions have been attained, to ensure that the fuller and more complete system, for which they would then be ready, is made available to their people.
- (4) By giving proof that it is the genuine wish and intention of the European to aid and inspire the Native to advance as quickly as possible along the road both of economic and educational development suggested."

(b) *Minority View**Effects of Education*

645-653. The Natives show widespread and intensely keen desire for education and sacrifice for the sake of their children. The intense desire for education makes the Natives leave rural areas where facilities are scanty, for the towns, where even adults can have opportunities for instruction, often by helping each other. This keenness and readiness to sacrifice can prove an important factor in the development of the Native people. Their poverty hinders them from obtaining better education. Also the lack of funds available for Native education restricts the quality and extent of the education given. Nevertheless, as against the uneducated, the educated Native

- (1) is a more useful member of the community,
- (2) is a more regular worker than the uneducated,
- (3) can be trusted with responsible duties, e.g., delivering goods "cash on delivery," receiving the correct money, giving receipts and accounting to employers,
- (4) lives on a far better standard than the uneducated, his earnings being generally higher, enabling him to spend more on food, better housing, and better clothing,
- (5) generally, has better habits of industry and general adaptability.

"It is certain that education does counteract the reactionary conceptions due to the tribal system and can be developed without destroying what is good and worthy of preservation and development in that system."

The low wages in mining and farming are quite inadequate to enable the educated Native to satisfy the new social needs created by his education. It is not surprising, therefore, that he turns to more remunerative and attractive occupations.

Value of Education.

654-655. Even well-educated Europeans fear "that an improvement of the Natives' standard of civilisation means a progressive loss of opportunities for Europeans. . . .", whereas "improvement in the Natives' position will give increased opportunity to Europeans" by increasing the consuming power of the Natives. Through "education the Natives' standard of living and his ability to maintain that standard by increased efficiency can be raised and a great economic danger in the Union to European civilisation, arising from the wide divergence between European

and Native standards of living, will disappear. The European has less to fear from the educated than from an uneducated Native people, either in preserving European civilisation or maintaining a European standard of living." "In these circumstances can the Union afford to allow its Native people to remain uneducated?"

"There can be no doubt, in face of all the evidence, that the Native can acquire knowledge and skill readily from education."

656. "It is necessary but not enough to teach the Native better agricultural methods and principles of hygiene. He must be taught to read and to write and to think clearly, so that throughout his life he may have open to him channels through which helpful knowledge may come to him."

663. The lack of adequate educational facilities and employment for adolescent boys and girls is creating serious problems; in such cases education would be a form of insurance and cheaper and better than police action. For these boys and girls the Wayfarer and Pathfinder Movements provide means for character development and training in social duties.

664. While many Natives urged the introduction of compulsory education for Natives, the difficulties in the way are too great at present, but considerable expansion of educational facilities is urgently necessary.

FINANCE OF NATIVE EDUCATION

(a) *Majority View*

Native Development Essential

642. " We have laid stress in the earlier part of our report on the essential need for the development of the Reserves. We lay stress in this section on the coincident need of developing the Native himself. We are convinced that both are required in the interests of the whole country, and of all its inhabitants, whether White or Black."

Cost

617. Exact figures of the Native school age population are not available, but to be on the conservative side the Commission takes the figures 1,373,000. Assuming (for statistical purposes) that Native Education were confined to children between six and sixteen (a certain proportion are actually above that age) there would be room in Government and Government-aided schools for 283,000 pupils, or say twenty per cent of the total estimated school age population. The State expenditure in 1930 was £618,000. [Of this amount £278,000 was contributed from the

proceeds of Native direct taxation.—*Editors*.] It would, therefore, require £618,000 multiplied by five, i.e., say £3,000,000 to give all Native children between six and sixteen, the modicum of education now being provided. In addition, considerable expenditure on buildings and equipment (hitherto largely provided by Missions) would be necessary, as it is not likely that the Missions will be able to bear any further increase.

643. In the normal course of things the expenditure on the existing type of education would grow from year to year. The Commission has suggested a further type of education which would also require money. It considers it almost impossible to prevent a growth of expenditure on the first type of education, or to divert any of the expenditure from the first to the second types.

644. Assuming that the necessary funds are to come from the Native Development Fund, the Commission considers that the Fund will require a considerably increased income if its recommendations for the development of the Reserves are to be carried out.

The allocation of an expenditure between the two types of education will require the most careful consideration of the Government, although the Commission does not think that hard and fast rules can be laid down for long periods.

“ Your Commission does not feel that it can advance any views on this question.”

[See also par. 624 above—*Editors*].

(b) *Minority View*

Effects of Restrictions

648. “ The Government’s policy has been to restrict the expenditure on Native education to a portion only of the direct revenue derived from Natives. This policy has had, and is having, important consequences on both the social and economic condition of the Natives and offers little scope for further education of Natives.”

657. The Minority, disputes the assumption that the Natives, a poor section of the population, must pay directly for all the services they receive, and also contests the assumption that all Government revenue, other than the Native General Tax, is provided by Europeans and should not be available for Native services. It holds “ that much, if not all, of the revenue is obtained from the joint efforts of Europeans and Natives,” giving as an instance the revenue from mining.

The Burden

658. "The present burden of taxation on Natives, direct and indirect, is very heavy. It is quite impossible, without serious consequences to Native welfare, to increase it. As it is, they are the only section of the community which is paying school fees for primary education."

659. "The Native Development Fund makes inadequate provision for expansion of expenditure on education. Any increase in the Fund can be brought about only by an increase in the number of adult males, while the growth of the school population is taking place in both sexes."

660. "All civilised countries have realised the necessity and importance of educating their peoples. The necessity and importance are equally great for the Natives of the Union. They cannot pay for it in their present economic position. They are the poorest section of the community, and no country calls on its poorest section to pay for all the social services which are necessary for their well-being."

661. "In the rural areas where, as a rule, building materials are cheap and readily obtainable the Natives will be willing to provide and maintain school buildings. With a remission of the General Tax the Natives in the Reserves could probably pay the other expenses of education out of revenue which they would raise locally."

662. "In the urban and farming areas wages are so low that to-day they have to be supplemented by subsidized housing schemes, or by crime. Subsidised housing schemes and crime are expensive ways of paying for services. In these areas the cost of education must be met either by increased wages or by State subsidy. School buildings need not be expensive, and Native workmen can be employed in erecting and maintaining them. With the abolition of the numerous statutory technical offences, of which few Natives can avoid at one time or another being guilty, a very considerable proportion of the Police and Prisons Votes could be saved and diverted to Native education. Though an increase in the total amount now expended by the Government on Native education, all of which amount it must be remembered is provided out of Native taxation, must be anticipated, and should be encouraged, the increase, if the course outlined above is followed, need not be alarming."

CONTROL OF NATIVE EDUCATION

640. The Commission considers it essential that Native education "in view of its peculiar nature" should be controlled from one source, and that the time has come to vest its superintendence in an officer of the Union Government.

II. DIRECT TAXATION OF NATIVES

Two Methods of Taxation

665-678. In the Union the European population is taxed on the principle of ability to pay, while the Natives are taxed on the primitive method of the poll or personal tax. The former system suits a community with marked differences in the degrees of individual wealth; the latter suits a community where there are no wide individual variations of this kind. When the two types of communities intermingle in the economic sphere, and the interests of the individuals in each become inextricably interwoven, anomalies¹ in taxation appear.

Effects of Taxation

At first direct taxation of the Natives was intended to drive tribal Natives from the Reserves to work for Europeans. It is now an integral part of the administrative system of the country and exerts necessary pressure for the advancement of the Natives. In so far as Reserve Natives are concerned, and also in so far as many farm Natives are concerned, the personal tax² is not regressive, whereas in the case of the permanently urbanised Native population the personal tax has definitely that effect, because, economically, this group approximates more nearly to the lower strata of the European and to the Coloured, than to the great mass of the Native population.

Suggested Changes and their Effects

The Commission holds that to apply the same system of taxation to Natives as to Europeans would be tantamount to the abolition of direct taxation of Natives. This would throw a heavier burden upon the White

¹ Mr. Lucas in his addendum, paragraphs A331-334, gives examples of taxation anomalies including the following: (a) "In respect of farming areas, while the great majority of farmers escape direct taxation, all their Native male employees, over the age of eighteen, must pay it;" (b) In the slums of towns and on diamond diggings Europeans, Coloured, Asiatics and Natives are found living cheek by jowl, but only the Natives pay direct taxation, the amount often being a months' total wages in cash or kind.

² See Addendum by Mr. Lucas, paragraphs A325-328:—Taxation upon Natives is as follows:—

- (a) General Tax of £1 os. od. per head per annum on males of eighteen years or over.
- (b) Local Tax of 10s. per hut or dwelling in a Native Reserve, payable by the Native occupier. This Tax is not payable where the Native is the holder of land under quitrent title.
- (c) A Native is liable to income tax but is exempted from the general tax up to the amount he pays in income tax. The number of Native general tax payers in 1929-30 was 1,184,241; the total number of income tax payers of all races was 66,699.

community, not only for the maintenance of law and order but also for the provision of social services necessary to Native advancement. The effect of this would be to restrict Native social services. It would be impossible to secure the funds for the developments it recommends if Natives were to contribute less to the State revenue than they do now, and enlightened Native opinion will not oppose the present system if they can see that a determined effort is being made to raise the general level of the Native people.

With respect to the urban Natives, the Commission does not favour any change because (a) the present tax is now well-known and understood by the Natives ; (b) "a new tax is proverbially a bad tax", especially is this so amongst the Natives ; (c) it would have the effect of encouraging the urbanisation of Natives if urban Natives were exempt from the personal tax. It would also be difficult to define urban Natives for exemption from the personal tax and to avoid a sense of grievance amongst those not exempted.

The Commission considers that adoption of the recommendations of its Report, generally, would do more to remove grievances in regard to taxation than to remove the grievances of the small class of urban dweller at the expense of the Native people as a whole.

Recommendations by F. A. W. Lucas

Effects of General Tax

A325-357. "The General Tax in the Reserves is in direct conflict with any form of segregation, and is equally in conflict with the recommendations of the Commission for the development of the Reserves and the consequent reduction of the drift of Natives to the towns. "On European-owned farms the effect of the General Tax is definitely to drive Natives to the towns." The local Tax has also the effect of driving Natives to towns, as well as causing overcrowding in the huts. Natives go into the towns to earn cash wages with which to pay their taxes.

Another System suggested

The whole system of Native taxation should be re-cast. It should be possible in Native areas to create a reasonable relation between taxation and the wealth, or wealth-producing capacity, of the Natives. While the taxation should not interfere with free production of wealth, it should have the effect of eliminating certain evils, such as absentee and unequal holding and disintegration of family life and parental control, caused by the need to find cash for taxes in the towns.

As land is tribal property in the Reserves and the source of the tribe's wealth, tribal needs should be met from the land. Natives are accustomed to paying tribute to the Chief from the proceeds of the land. "The amount chargeable to Natives in any Reserve should be assessed at whatever sum the Union Government, as representing the Supreme Chief, claims for the services it renders to those Natives. This amount, if not already covered by indirect taxation should be raised by a charge levied on each arable lot, while local revenue needed by the tribe for its own administration could be raised by a similar charge, as well as in respect of grazing land, a charge for each head of stock grazed on it."

"To arrive at the amount of the charge, each plot, in areas where there is individual title, as in the surveyed areas, might be valued separately by the Native Commissioner and the Chief, by an inexpensive method which need not be meticulously accurate, but in other areas as all the plots will be approximately of equal value they can be taken as equal unless the Chief-in-council together with the Native Commissioner agrees that a differentiation in value exists and should be taken into consideration. In any valuation only the unimproved value of the land should be taken. It is essential that there should be no charge levied upon any improvements made by the occupier of a plot. Whatever value is taken a charge based on that value could be levied. In respect of grazing land, which to-day is in theory common land but in reality is appropriated by the owner of large herds and gives no rights or return to the Native with no stock, the carrying capacity of the land should be calculated and a reasonable grazing charge based on the number so arrived at should be made for all stock grazed there, the total proceeds being retained by the tribe for its own purposes."

To conform with the Commission's recommendations regarding self-government, the proceeds of such taxes should be placed in the tribal fund, the amount due to the Government being paid out of the fund, and the balance being used for tribal purposes.

One advantage of this system would be that whilst Natives would understand the method, the odium now resting upon the Government in collecting the present tax would be removed.

If this system were adopted in the Reserves, Natives elsewhere could be made subject to the same taxation as Europeans with the same principles of exemption. This system would also allow of the assessment against any Reserve of the amount payable to the Government in more definite relation to the services rendered to the Reserve.

Indirect Taxation

With regard to indirect taxation there were many complaints by Natives of the heavy burden thrown on them by the customs duties on cotton blankets and Kafir sheeting, which, in the case of blankets, amounts to 90% of the value.

Natives' contribution to National Revenue

Mr. Lucas points out that estimates made by the late Professor Lehfeldt and the Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 of the Natives' proportion of the National income and the Native Economic Commission's estimate of the Natives' contribution to the National Revenue show that the Natives pay in taxation between one-fifth and one-eighth of their income.

*III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS³**1. RACE RELATIONS**Changes and their Causes*

679-691. Great changes have undoubtedly taken place in recent years in the attitudes of the European and Native races of South Africa towards each other.

Generally, the attitude of the European toward the Native is becoming more friendly, while that of the Native toward the European and European administration has become less friendly and trustful.

Among the Europeans there is a desire to understand better the needs and aspirations of the Natives. The Universities are taking a keen interest in the scientific study of Native life. The Urban Areas Act and the Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives have brought a much better understanding among Europeans of Native needs and desires. The Press gives prominence to Native questions and the public is beginning to appreciate the Native point of view. In the rural areas missionaries, particularly those of the Dutch Reformed Church, have done much to improve understanding amongst rural Europeans of the needs of the Natives.

³ Paragraphs 797-941, which deal with conditions of labour in Mining and other occupations and with other industrial matters, will be dealt with in Part V in which the Regulation and Conditions of Labour and Wages is considered.
—Eds.

Among the Natives, on the other hand, there is an inclination to blame the European for their ills, for the passing of the "good old days." They think only of the disabilities of to-day, forgetting the evils that European administration has eliminated, and unmindful of the very real progress they have made. Thus, while wages are low, the general level of living among Natives has risen very considerably. And, while the inadequacy of educational and medical facilities for Natives is generally decried, the fact that not so long ago the Native had next to nothing of these is overlooked. Again, while great stress is laid on the restrictions which are imposed on Natives by European administration in various ways, it is not generally realised that this is due not so much to ill-will as to the fact that increasing population is making things more and more difficult economically for both White and Black. While admitting that there is a large leeway to make up, the Commission thinks there is too great a tendency to take for granted all the good things the Natives possess and to lay too great stress upon those which have not yet been made available to them. This is true of the more advanced and vocal Natives.

The European Press by publishing unfriendly statements about Natives often stirs up ill-feeling among Natives.

The appalling slum conditions in most of the large towns, where Natives and Europeans live side by side, tend to destroy that respect for the Europeans as a race so generally held by Natives.

Language difficulties also contribute to misunderstandings between Europeans and Natives. Most Europeans do not speak a Native language, and although large numbers of Natives in the towns do learn one or both of the official languages,⁴ there are such great differences between European and Bantu languages that inability to understand each other correctly leads to charges against the Natives for stupidity, insolence or discourtesy. A large number of court cases under the Masters and Servants Law are due to this.

The Commission draws special attention to the growth of a Native nationalism or race consciousness. This must be recognised when considering social and economic questions affecting the Native.

The four main questions lying at the root of Native feeling against the European to-day are :—

(a) Shortage of land.

⁴ A number of Native witnesses complained that Afrikaans is not taught in their schools.

- (b) The restriction upon individual liberty imposed by the pass laws.
- (c) The Colour Bar.
- (d) The low scale of wages generally paid to Natives.

“The shortage of land affects primarily the rural⁵ Natives, but it is the urban Natives in particular who feel the pressure on the other points, and it is among them that fruitful soil is found for the operations of those Natives who wish to foment strife between the races.”

The Commission “is convinced that economic difficulties, from which both races suffer, are at the root of much of inter-racial ill-feeling. Concentration on the economic problem which requires cool analysis and as cool purposive action is the most hopeful approach to the problem of creating satisfactory race relations.”

“We cannot too strongly urge that extreme caution should be observed both by public speakers and writers in the Press in dealing with Native questions. Ill-considered expressions and faulty information have a much greater influence on relatively uneducated people than on people who are capable of exercising a calmer judgment or of checking the accuracy of statements of alleged facts.”

It would reduce misunderstanding and smoothe away difficulties in industry and administration if Europeans learned a Native language. Greater scope should be given to Native languages in European schools.

2. SEGREGATION

The Various Forms and their Effects

692-703. As a great deal of confusion is caused through the use of the term “segregation” in different senses, the Commission examines the various interpretations in so far as they affect the social and economic conditions of Natives :—

(a) *Full economic segregation*—i.e. placement of Europeans and Natives into separate areas, neither serving the other in any way. “No-body advocates this.”

⁵ Our own experience is that town Natives are very conscious of the shortage of land, either because they have come into the towns through the lack of land, or because they feel the pressure of the competition of those Natives who are coming into the towns for short periods and are able to work for less wages. Almost invariably in a discussion among town Natives the land question obtrudes itself.—*Editors.*

(b) *Partial economic segregation.* Opinions differ widely as to the degree of segregation desirable. Views expressed before the Commission indicated that Natives should live in areas set aside for them but individual Natives should be allowed to enter European areas on temporary permit to work. Natives now resident in European areas should be transferred gradually to Natives areas.

The Commission cannot give any support to this view because

- (a) It would be impracticable ;
- (b) It would be unfair to Natives now permanent dwellers in the towns or on farms ;
- (c) It would continue the evils of casual labour in European areas, particularly the low efficiency of Native labour which is a serious drawback to the attainment of efficiency in industries as a whole.

The Commission, however, supports that form of partial segregation which its recommendations on the Reserves (see Part 1) involves, viz.:—development of the Reserves to provide more adequately for the needs of the Natives therein. The effect of this would be that

- (a) There would be greater stability of both urban and rural labour which would allow of greater efficiency among both ;
- (b) There would be a cessation of the present competition of the casual labourer from the Reserves and rural areas, which is unfair to the urban worker ;
- (c) There would be a reduction in the flow of Natives into the towns as a result of the greater efficiency of the regular urban worker, making conditions too difficult for inefficient labour ;
- (d) While there would always be a considerable, though reduced, number of Natives coming out to work from the Reserves, they would flow into channels which regularly require casual labour, e.g., Mining ;
- (e) With better agriculture in the Reserves there would be developed a better type of land workers, from which a surplus would tend to go to European farms as casual labourers ;
- (f) Generally there would be a more economical distribution of the labour forces of the country.

(c) *Territorial Segregation : Rural.* Separation of the holding of land as provided by the Natives Land Act of 1913, thus protecting the Natives against losing their land to the Europeans and the Europeans

against “Kafir-farming” and interposition of European and Native farms.

(d) *Residential Segregation : Urban.* Separation of the Native urban residents from the European as provided for by the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. This allows of easier administration and control of Native housing, the clearance of slums and the development of a civic pride and higher social life amongst Natives in the Native townships and villages.

(e) *Occupational Segregation in Industries.* This is aimed at by the Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act, and the principle is embodied in the Mines and Works Act Amendment Act. The purpose is to place limits to the undercutting of wages. As the gap between Native and European standards of living lessens, this form of segregation will diminish in importance.

(f) *Social Segregation.* This applies not only to inter-marriage and to those sexual relations which constitute a criminal offence under the Immorality Act No. 5 of 1927, but also to many other forms of social intercourse. This is in “conformity with the ideals of both Europeans and Natives, and may be regarded as a feature of the problem of race relationship for the maintenance of which there is a large degree of unanimity.”

3. MARRIAGE AND LOBOLO

Meaning of Lobolo

704-714. Among the Abantu marriage is predominantly a family matter, for the families of the two individuals concerned bring about the marriage, conclude the contract, arrange all, pay all.

The compact of marriage is solemnly sealed by the passing of cattle (*lobolo*) which is accompanied by the slaughtering of beasts, in accordance with a recognised ritual, to give a religious seal to the contract and alliance between the two families.

Lobolo plays an important rôle not only in marriage itself, but also in a great many other directions. On it rests largely the whole social structure of Bantu tribal organisation ; it is an integral part of their life.

Effects of Lobolo

In considering the question whether or not *lobolo* should be legally recognised, the Commission finds that it has the following social and juridical effects. [For the sake of clarity these have been re-arranged in the following order—tribal, family, individual and general—*Editors*].

- (1) It has contributed much towards preserving tribes and keeping them intact ;
- (2) Through it inter-tribal relations are established by the marriage of chiefs and their sons and daughters with persons of blood from other tribes ;
- (3) As the tribe is an organised community of families and the exogamous marriage is an affair between families, *lobolo* establishes bonds between families.
- (4) By strengthening family ties it holds high the rights and authority and dignity of the head of the family ; it is a symbol of the union and cohesion, the solidarity, of the family ;
- (5) *Lobolo* in a sense is a form of compensation to the bride's family for the loss of the potential worth (economic and otherwise) of the bride to the family ;
- (6) *Lobolo* is a gauge of a family's economic position, for cattle, not land, forms wealth in Native society. Much cattle brings many wives to bear children⁶ who in turn bring cattle or add to the man-strength of the family.
- (7) It acts as a spur to the man to become a man of status and so to ensure his social position ;
- (8) In many tribes acceptance of the *lobolo* ensures the maintenance of the bride by her father or guardian, in certain contingencies.
- (9) It also serves as a guarantee by the bride's family of the bride's virginity, of her wifely conduct and of her readiness and competence to carry out conjugal obligations.⁷ It thus proscribes licentiousness.⁸
- (10) *Lobolo* is a token of a man's acknowledgment of his obligations in respect of the woman.
- (11) It upholds the worthiness of the woman and gives her status and security.

⁶ The Commission makes no mention of the direct contribution made by the women in the economic organisation of the family, e.g. Tilling of the soil. Cf. this aspect with the idea of compensation mentioned in item 5.—*Eds.*

⁷ *Lobolo* is reduced in cases of previous defloration by other than the bridegroom ; disobedience or refusal to undertake wifely duties involves divorce and return of *lobolo* (to varying extent) ; and sterility calls for a substitute or the return of *lobolo*—*Eds.*

⁸ On the part of the woman —*Eds.*

- (12) It determines the validity or otherwise of marriage and the legitimacy or otherwise of the children.
- (13) *Lobolo* is a form of dowry, but with a religious and ritualistic significance.
- (14) It rears a wall against divorce [presumably because its ritual, economic and social significance makes divorce into "a rupture of a solemn covenant"—*Editors*].
- (15) Generally, "*Lobolo* preserves the sanctity of marriage, the honour of the family, and the well-being of the tribe."

Degeneration of Custom

715-716. "Among the so-called detribalised Natives *lobolo* has degenerated" so that

- (1) *Lobolo* is contributed in money. Where this is done, the basis of the social and religious idea of the system has been completely altered.
- (2) There is no ceremony as a necessary element of the contract. Here the religious and social functions disappear.
- (3) Where a dispute arises and it becomes a vital matter, they plead ignorance of the correct procedure. Here the conception of justness and the feeling of responsibility are undermined.
- (4) There is no tribal standard or scale of the amount of any money substitute. A sacred usage, affecting a law of the life of tribe and family, is here left to unregularised arrangement by individuals.
- (5) There is a general slighting of the legal guardian and true protector of the maid. Guardianship is arbitrarily assumed by someone, male or female, who discharges the functions of the office clumsily. From this there follows a disregard and wanton defiance of authority.
- (6) The bridegroom acts all alone, neither consulting his father or guardian, nor obtaining his consent, and thus he ignores and undermines the authority of the head of his family.

The effects are held to be

- "(1) A lowering of social status—i.e. denationalisation ;
- (2) A spiritual decline ;
- (3) A weakening and breaking up of family life ;

- (4) Neglect of what is right and becoming in society ;
- (5) The adoption of European marriage rites, usually for the purpose of evading the *lobolo* custom ;
- (6) A forsaking of tribal moral law, leading to moral straying and collapse."

Dowry

717. Among non-tribal and semi-tribal Natives dowry is sometimes given equal to or even more than the *lobolo* value. This practice may indicate transition into the European dowry or it may decline altogether.

Recommendations

718-719. The Commission considers that to make *lobolo* illegal would throw Native tribal life into chaos, and conflict with the general tenor of the Report. Instead it recommends

- (a) That the amount of *lobolo* be fixed by the parties concerned and not by the State ;
- (b) That all marriages in which *lobolo* passes be registered, to check disputes ;
- (c) That Native chiefs with jurisdiction in the Reserves keep registers of such marriages in their own areas and that chiefs' courts adjudicate in such registered marriages, subject to appeal, the decisions being recorded and reported to the Native Commissioners,—this system to supersede the present Natal system.

4. PASS LAWS⁹

Operation and Effects

720. "The Commission listened to many complaints on the subject of the Pass Laws from Natives in the Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State. In the Cape Province no Pass Law system is in force, except in the Transkei and in the districts generally known as British Bechuana-land, where permits for entrance and exit are required. Magistrates with long experience of the Cape freedom in this respect are critical of the effects of the pass requirements in the other Provinces."

721-722. In 1930 there were 42,000 convictions under the Pass Laws, 39,000 of these being in the Transvaal (16,000 on the Witwatersrand). These are the normal figures.

⁹ Dr. Roberts asks for the complete abolition of passes for Natives.

The pass laws are onerous and this large volume of technical offences, with little or no moral opprobrium, is familiarising large numbers of Natives with gaol at an early age. This results in gaol losing its deterrent effect and in the moral deterioration of the Natives. Besides, the State pays heavily, over and above the pass fees.

Case for Pass Laws

723-728. The reasons generally given for the enforcement of the Pass system are

- (1) It affords a protection to the rural Native who comes into surroundings which are entirely new and strange to him ;
- (2) in so far as the pass represents a service contract it affords a further means of protection to the Native ;
- (3) the pass is necessary as a means for identification ;
- (4) it assists the employer in preventing strange Natives from living or sleeping on his property ;
- (5) it prevents absconding from farms or other forms of employment ;
- (6) in general it prevents crime ;
- (7) it affords some means of stopping wholesale entry of Natives into towns where, if not required to carry passes, a large number will deliberately refrain from being employed and will loaf and ultimately live on their wits.

In the Commission's opinion justification for the pass laws must be found in the problems arising from the contact between European civilisation and the primitive indigenous society of the Native.

In the towns, in view of the growth of slums, and other effects of the low standard of living of the Native, should there be no control of entrance to and residence in the towns of Natives ?

On the farms, can the Native be given complete freedom of movement without the economic disorganisation of agriculture ?

Simplification Desirable

728-731. " The Commission found that the desirability of some form of registration of Natives was generally admitted, both in their own interests and in those of the community, but it was generally urged that some simplification of the existing pass system was overdue." " We wish to

emphasise that the present complexity of the pass laws is a matter of legitimate grievance to the Native people, which should be removed."

The Commission agrees generally with the report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Pass Laws (1920) and recommends that the Report be brought up to date and acted upon. The pass system should not be extended to the Cape Province.

The Commission draws particular attention to paragraphs 37 and 38 of the Committee's Report :—

" 37. We recommend that a Registration Certificate shall be carried whenever a Native goes beyond the Ward in which he is ordinarily resident."

" 38. To require Natives to carry Registration Certificates and yet remove all machinery for ensuring their doing so would stultify the effect of the provisions. It is therefore necessary to make provision for demanding certificates but at the same time to ensure that this right will be wisely and sympathetically exercised.

In this connection, we cannot too strongly record our opinion that there should be no indiscriminate stopping of Natives by the Police for the production of the Registration Certificate *per se* as the harassing and constant interference with the freedom of movement of law-abiding Natives is without any doubt the most serious grievance which the Natives have against the Pass Laws, and is one of the principal causes of the recent agitation against the existing systems. All officers of the South African Police examined by us are in agreement that no good purpose is served by the indiscriminate demanding of passes and that movements of Natives should not be interfered with by the Police unless they come under suspicion when they should be dealt with in the same manner as other members of the community."

The Commission recommends that the tax receipt should, if possible, be continued with the Registration Certificate.

732. As regards the complaints of farmers that the present pass system does not give the help they desire to prevent desertion " the Commission considers it undesirable that the liberty and movement of Natives should be further restricted " but recommends the adoption of the following suggestions of the Inter-departmental Committee :—

" 41. It has already been recommended that the carrying of the Registration Certificate by a Native beyond the border of the ward in

which he resides should be compulsory and *we now recommend that it shall be an offence for any person to engage a Native not in possession of a Registration Certificate : that employers be required to report within seven days, the engagement of a Native—other than a casual labourer—furnishing particulars in regard to his identity and registered number, etc.—to the local Registering officer : and in order that there may be a record of the movements of Natives throughout the Union the establishment of a Central Bureau to which local Registering Officers would advise the engagement of Natives other than those domiciled and registered in their districts.*

“ 42. As the above recommendations would only cover the whereabouts of Natives actually in employment *we further recommend that owners or occupiers of land and heads of kraals, shall without delay, report the presence of unauthorised strange Natives other than passing travellers, to the proper authority for transmission of such reports to the local Registering Officer.*

By these means we consider that a record of all Natives moving about the country would be built up at the Central Bureau and in the event of the Native not being at his home or recorded at the local Registration Office as being in the district an enquiry at the Central Bureau should establish his whereabouts.

“(a) *Registration of Contracts of Service entered into by Natives.*

“ 43. Under headings (2) and (b) a system has been recommended which will enable a Native to have free and unrestricted movement throughout the Union subject to Registration, the carrying of the Registration Certificate outside the Ward in which he resides, the production of the Certificate on demand by an ‘authorised Officer’ and on obtaining employment.

The question now arises as to whether any further measures are necessary to protect the interests of employer and employee when the Native has secured employment.

Evidence on this point from both European and Native witnesses is overwhelmingly in favour of the registration of all contracts of service entered into by Natives, but as regards contracts entered into in rural districts, i.e. farm and small industrial concerns in outlying parts of the country fear was expressed by the majority of witnesses, that the difficulty of providing machinery for the convenient and

efficient attestation of contracts—so essential to secure the co-operation of the employer—rendered the proposal impracticable.

We share this fear and with reluctance find ourselves unable to recommend compulsory registration of service contracts entered into by Natives outside proclaimed industrial or urban areas, although we realise that the absence of such compulsory registration deprives the Native of a large measure of protection."

Registration of Contracts

736-737. The Commission recommends that in rural areas all contracts of service for a period in excess of three months should be registered.

Women's Passes Unnecessary

739-740. The Commission, after describing the strong feeling among Natives against the inclusion of women under Pass Laws says :—

"The Commission is of opinion that no real need for the application of pass requirements to Native women has been shown."

Exemption

738. "As a general principle, the Commission considers that it should be regarded as a reasonable aspiration of the Natives that they should in proportion to their development from an uncivilised state of life and society to something nearer European standards, become increasingly free from restrictions such as the pass system imposes. The Commission would favour a liberal use of such privileges in the matter of Pass Laws as individual progress justified."

742-747. "Those who have emerged and those who are still on the way, should be treated in a manner different from the great bulk, in regard to whom there is at present no need to distinguish."

The Commission favours various grades of exemption from the operation of Native law, and laws specially affecting Natives (particularly in respect of the application of the Native law of inheritance) as a means of removing hardships in individual cases.

5. LIQUOR

Control

748-759. Generally speaking the Native is allowed considerable latitude in the Reserves and on farms to make and drink *utywala*, whose alcoholic content is about twice that of ginger beer. In the towns, however, the

general tendency is to prohibit all alcoholic beverages, though in Natal there is municipal manufacture and sale of Kafir-beer and elsewhere a certain amount of home brewing is allowed.

Effects of Prohibition

Prohibition of *utywala* has had the effect of developing an illicit traffic, not only in *utywala* but also in other forms of liquor with a much higher alcoholic content, which are more quickly made and more easily hidden and which mature more rapidly. Thus methylated spirits, calcium carbide and other ingredients are added to make highly intoxicating drinks.

The police make frequent and successful raids, but it is difficult to fasten responsibility in communities where the populace as a whole regard prohibition as an unfair interference with their traditional beverage and have come to regard the Police as their common enemy. The liquor is usually buried, often in the street, so that individual responsibility is practically impossible to fix. Where convictions take place—and they account for only a portion of the trade—heavy fines are readily paid because of the profits of the trade.

The Commission feels strongly that not only is prohibition a failure, but that it has brought many evils in its train, such as immorality. It has also deprived the Natives of an important source of vitamins in their normal diet.

Remedies

The consideration of alternatives, however, present difficulties for no suggestion brought before the Commission was free of objection.

- (1) The Natives dislike the municipal beer hall system, which has been described as “drinking in a cage.”
- (2) The Natives, generally, demand home brewing.

The Commission, following its policy that Native institutions and customs should not be unnecessarily broken down, thinks that this should only be refused if a strong case can be made against it.

The following are the objections :—

- (a) Home brewing would make it more difficult than ever to deal with the noxious concoctions.

The Commission holds that if wholesome *utywala* could be obtained without breaking the law, the majority of Natives would revert to it, and

this would narrow down the task of the police to a much smaller problem, in which the police would have the co-operation of the Natives if they knew that the privilege of home-brewing might be lost by abuse.

- (b) Home-brewing would not meet the case of the unmarried Native and this would lead to the sale of home-brewed beer.

The Commission admits this, but urges that a general right to sell would reduce the large profits, which are the basis of the present evil. Those women who, for immoral purposes, increase the alcoholic content of the drink, would soon be identified and so would their customers, especially since the services of the Natives, to protect the privilege of home-brewing, could be enlisted in dealing with abuses. Besides, those Natives who are satisfied with *utywala* would tend to congregate in tribal groups, in which a standard of conduct would be maintained, thus using Native institutions in the cause of law and order.

- (3) A system of licensed houses, run by Natives, was suggested to the Commission, which thinks it worth consideration as licensees would have an interest in suppressing the illicit trade. But, if home brewing is ruled out, the Commission prefers State or municipal beer-shops.

Recommendations

768-771. The Commission

- (1) Thinks that the sale to Natives and the use by them of European liquors and noxious concoctions should be dealt with severely.

(2) Suggests that prohibition should disappear, and that experiments in regard to the manufacture, sale and consumption of *utywala* should be tried in various areas, especially labour districts, long enough to test their merits, and to frame a permanent policy.

(3) Recommends that provision be made for "dry" areas in urban locations, as among educated Natives there is said to be much less drinking than among the uneducated (One mine manager stated that twenty per cent of the Native labourers on his mine were teetotallers).

(4) Expresses the "opinion that useful propaganda could be carried out at school and by other educational means to combat drinking amongst Natives and to encourage total abstinence."

6. CRIME

Incidence

772-776. The general consensus of opinion of responsible witnesses is that the Natives are a law-abiding people.

There is, however, a considerable amount of serious crime. In 1930, 14,116 Natives in the Union were convicted of offences listed as serious crime. This is 25.95 convictions per 10,000 of the Native population as against 13.39 for Europeans, 10.7 for Asiatics and 49.38 for Coloured and others.

Crimes of violence, frequently committed under the influence of drink, tribal quarrels and stock theft account for a large proportion of the crimes. In Johannesburg seventy-five per cent of assaults are traced to illicit liquor, fairly large numbers of Native women being convicted of serious assaults.

The following figures account for the greater part of the other offences committed by Natives :—

Drunkenness	15,995
Illegal Possession of Native Liquor	35,777
Municipal Offences	25,912
Common Theft	13,435
Common Assault	18,166
Master and Servants Act	15,861
Pass Laws	42,262
Urban Areas Act	20,877
Native Taxation Act	49,772
Native Labour Regulation Act	23,293

“ Many of the offences are not crime in the ordinary sense. The effect of sending Natives to prison for them, must be on the one hand to bring them in undesirable touch with hardened criminals, and on the other to make prison lose its deterrent effect. Any steps, such as more extended use of the suspended sentence, which mitigate these must necessarily have a beneficent effect on the administration of justice.

Amalayita

777-786. The gangs of Native youths in some of the large towns, known as *Amalayita*, are evidence of the need for opportunities being afforded Native youths in these towns for releasing pent-up energies through competitive games. Tribal life in Reserves affords such opportunities

through "playing at soldiers" where they provide good physical training but in the towns such games are dangerous and *amalayita* activities have become definitely anti-social.

Repatriation of Criminals

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act authorises the deportation of idle or disorderly Natives, or they may be sent to farm or work colonies or similar institutions. Natives in the Reserves bitterly resent this intrusion of hardened criminals into law-abiding areas, and they hold that these criminals, having been created in the towns, are the responsibility of the towns.

The Commission is satisfied that it is unwise and dangerous to send back hardened criminals to Native areas.

Farm Colony

Returns dated 30.4.1931 in respect of the farm colony at Leeuwhof, about eighteen miles from Johannesburg, where Natives are sent, show that of 702 Natives that have been sent there 19.4% are known to have been subsequently convicted. 32% are known to have reformed.

7. HEALTH

[The Commission did not deal directly with health problems among the Native people, except as indicated below.—*Editors*].

Infantile Mortality

787-796. The Commission states that published figures of infantile mortality among urban Natives are misleading because

- (a) Large numbers of births are not registered, while all deaths are, since a burial order is necessary ;
- (b) Women in urban areas are known to observe the Native custom of returning to the parents' home for the first confinement. In such cases, where the children die, deaths only will be registered;
- (c) Many women bring their children to town for medical attention, frequently too late to save the children ;
- (d) As migration is townwards a certain number of infants born in the country die in the towns.

It is difficult to obtain accurate data, particularly as in the case of Natives, registration is not compulsory in rural areas and is very incomplete in the towns.

The Commission made investigations and obtained a certain amount of information from witnesses, and considers that the following figures give a reasonably true picture of the situation :—

Urban : Johannesburg (Three Locations) 100-174 deaths per 1,000 births.

Rural : King William's Town—Tamare—244 deaths per 1000 births.

Venereal Disease

A261-267. Mr. Lucas urges the need for an investigation of the incidence of venereal disease among Natives and of the steps that should be taken to deal with it. The evidence tendered to the Commission on the subject was of a contradictory nature.

8. TRADING

Rural Areas

942-949. In the Reserves trading rights were acquired by Europeans before Natives began to turn away from the communal system to barter. There are a few Natives carrying on business successfully for themselves. Many Natives are employed in stores in the Reserves as assistants and even managers, evidently with satisfactory results.

In the Reserves trade by barter is universal but cash purchase and sale is slowly coming in. Natives are good debt payers, but are complaining that they have to pay higher prices than Europeans for the same class and quality of goods.

The Commission considers that opportunities should be given freely to Natives to trade in the Reserves and that preference should be given to them in the issue of new licenses. The Transkeian five-mile rule should be modified in the more thickly populated areas.

Urban Areas

950-956. In many urban areas (except in the Orange Free State) Natives are conducting their own business on a small scale, but the licence fee for trading, which is fixed on the basis of European trade, is a heavy burden.

In Durban and Pietermaritzburg Natives hire booths in the Native markets and locations. The Commission recommends the system.

In the Orange Free State there is general opposition on the part of the urban authorities to granting trading rights to Natives in the locations.

The Commission considers this to be unreasonable, and thinks that trading by Natives in their locations, under licences, should be encouraged. It also considers that, in addition to the authority given to the Minister of Native Affairs under the Urban Areas Act Amendment Act of 1930 after due enquiry to override the local authority, the Minister should have absolute discretion to issue such licences whenever he deems it right to do so.

Usury

957-958. Natives have in the past suffered considerably from the usurious interest which traders and others charge on their debts, as much as 400 per cent per annum being charged. The Usury Act No. 37 of 1926 is often evaded as Natives are ignorant of the law.

Token System

959. The Commission strongly condemns the system of credit by means of Tokens to be found on certain coal mines in Natal and urges that it should be prohibited.

Marketing

960. Little has been done to organise the grading and marketing of Native produce, but in the Transkei the Department of Agriculture of the "Bunga" is giving assistance in this direction, while the Citrus Co-operative Exchange is marketing in Europe oranges grown by Native farmers in the Western Transvaal.

9. POSITION OF WOMEN

Changes

961-968. Considerable changes are taking place in the position of women in Native life as a result of Native contact with European ideas. Owing to the absence of men at work on the mines and elsewhere women have to plough and attend to cattle (the latter being quite contrary to tradition) while their work of carrying wood, crops, and water, is now occasionally done by animal transport. European fashions in clothing have not materially affected womens' style of dress in the Reserves, but European cloth of various kinds has penetrated the remotest parts. Outside the Reserves European clothing is superseding Native dress.

Education of Girls

Native women have made progress through education and some take a prominent part in Native activities. The Commission considers that

the education of Native girls “presents the most promising means of bringing about a rise in the Natives’ standard of living, which will give the required incentive towards a higher production by the Natives from their land.” The changes are taking place much faster in urban than in rural areas.

Hostels Needed

The policy of the Urban Areas Act is to discourage the permanent settlement of Natives in the towns and the Amending Act of 1930 has placed obstacles in the way of women coming into the towns. The Commission, however, considers that there is, in most towns, inadequate provision for the housing of Native widows and unmarried women, who are legitimately in the towns. Where local authorities or charitable bodies provide hostels, they generally serve a very useful purpose.

The low wages of Native men compel their wives to supplement the family income by laundry and other work, sometimes by the illicit selling of beer and other liquor. The absence of mothers from the homes leads to neglect of children.

Social work is being carried on amongst Native girls by the Wayfarer Movement and by certain purely Native organisations.

10. DOMESTIC SERVICE

Distribution of Sexes

969, 986, 987. The great bulk of domestic servants in South Africa are Natives, although in the Western Province Coloured servants predominate. Native females are preferred in other parts of the Cape Province and in the Orange Free State, while in the towns and certain rural areas of the Transvaal and Natal males are generally employed.

There is a growing desire on the part of many Europeans in the Transvaal and Natal to employ more females as domestic servants, although the unsuitable housing arrangements for domestic servants, which give no protection to the female employee, make Natives reluctant to let their women folk take service away from home. The urbanised Native population is beginning to provide a supply of female domestic servants. The hostels provided by missionary and philanthropic bodies in several large towns are meeting a need.

Native training institutions are now giving training in domestic science and the girls so trained easily find employment, although, in general, mistresses prefer to train their own servants.

11. HOUSING

Industrial

976-985. Industrial housing of Natives in labour areas is controlled under government regulations, framed under the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911. Housing in the sugar mills is similarly controlled. On the farms the Native worker puts up a hut with materials found on the farm.

“The value of good housing in attracting and keeping Native labourers is frequently overlooked. In certain areas very satisfactory results in attracting Native labourers have been obtained by employers providing good housing.”

Municipal

While the Urban Areas Act has led to considerable improvements in the housing of Natives in most towns the rent charged for municipally built houses is so severe a tax on the Natives that large numbers are driven to take in lodgers, thus creating slum conditions in the new locations. The houses, too, because of the cost, are small—two rooms being usual—which especially when lodgers are taken, gives no privacy. The distance of the locations from the towns makes it difficult for Natives to live in a location while employed in a town.

12. INDIGENCY

Growth

988-992. Urban conditions are breaking down the communal system of mutual help. Many magistrates reported the need for a poor relief fund for Natives in certain areas. On the Witwatersrand it has been found necessary to provide a home for aged, infirm and maimed Natives.

Effects

A.60-64. Mr. Lucas, in his addendum, quotes various authorities to show that the incidence of typhus, leprosy and other diseases is closely associated with the increased poverty of the Native population.

Remedy

The Commission concludes by saying :—“The maintenance of every poor White or every poor Native who cannot support himself has to be contributed by someone. The European population cannot face the prospect of having to maintain many hundreds of thousands of indigent Natives. The growth of poverty among the Natives, unless it is checked

and reversed, will give rise to very difficult problems of poor relief. The improvement of the economic position of the Natives will, on the other hand, lead to an improvement in the level of the national wealth."

(To be concluded)

A FORGOTTEN NAME FOR THE CAPE MALAYS

By S. A. ROCHLIN

It is little known to-day that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Cape Malays, who form such a distinctive element of our Cape Coloured population, were generally called by another name—*Bugis*, *Bougies* or *Bugunese*. For the last century or more the latter appellation has completely gone out of use, and authorities like Theal, Mendelssohn and Pettman in their respective works do not mention the instance in mind.

And the following authors, among others, bear witness to the above assertion :

Dr. Andrew Sparrman in his *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1785) remarked thus on p. 72, vol. 1, of his volume : In April, 1772, he met a farmer in the Paarl district who “ gave me a list (which, by his desire, I took down in my pocket-book, as a result of his own experience) of the constant order of precedence in love, which ought to be observed among the fair sex. This was as follows. First the *Madagascar* women, who are the blackest and handsomest, next to these the *Malabars*, then the *Bugunese* or *Malays* . . . ”

Again, in April, 1776, Dr. Sparrman noted as follows (vol. 2 pp. 341 ff) :

“ May not we conclude from hence, that the oppression and injustice, rather than hunger, have given rife to the practice of eating human flesh, which prevails in many parts of the world ? I have before observed, that the *Bugunese* slaves are particularly strict and scrupulous with respect to the administration of justice. Those slaves are a sort of Mahometans, and nearly all of the same complexion as the people of Java, though they are taken upon other islands in the East Indies.”

Captain Robert Percival in his *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1804) also called attention to the *Bugunese* (pp. 287, 297-8).

Moreover, the word Bugis occurs frequently among the records of slaves in the Cape of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Miss K. M. Jeffreys in *Kaapse Archiefstukken lopende over het Jaar 1780* (Cape Town, 1928, pp. 33, 35, 43, 81, 163 and 167) as well as in a similar series

for the year 1781 gave us the names of slaves who hailed from the East Indian Archipelago such as Daniel van Bougies or Cleopatria van Boegies. Likewise, H. C. V. Leibbrandt in vol. 2 of his *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Memorials, 1715-1806* (Cape Town, 1905) referred to the examples of Hanna of Boegies (1766) and Kitjel of Boegies (1785). A more comprehensive list of such names was also rendered by Prof. Dr. J. L. M. Franken (of the University of Stellenbosch) in his contribution on "Vertolking aan die Kaap in Maleis en Portugees" to the Cape Town *Die Huisgenoot* (23rd May, 1930; 20th June, 1930; 27th June, 1930; and 18th July, 1930).

Proceeding a stage further, Prof. Franken, in the course of the above mentioned study, makes the suggestion that the only letter ever written by an eighteenth century slave to the local authorities at the Cape was penned in the Bugunese language (*vide Die Huisgenoot*, 18th July, 1930, p. 41).

Ethnologically-speaking, the Bugis are of Malayan stock, and are yet considered to be a powerful semi-civilised Muslim tribe. They inhabit the south-western limb of the island of Celèbes in the East Indian Archipelago. They were converted rather late to Islamism, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were as well early distinguished for their enterprise as pirates, voyagers and traders.

Although the consensus of contemporary opinion appear to regard the Bugis as being especially liable to the homicidal mania known as "running amok"—a similar trait of activity which too was noticed among the early Cape Malays by Sparrman, Percival and other European observers—nevertheless John Crawford in his *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* (Londón, 1856, pp. 74-5) made out this claim for the mental progression of the Bugis :

"The Bugis are among the most advanced people of the Archipelago. They have long possessed all the domesticated animals, and cultivated the useful plants known to the civilised inhabitants of the more westerly islands. They understand the working of the useful metals, the rearing of cotton, and the manufacture of cloth from it. They had framed a native calendar, although they have no epoch. The year of the calendar is solar, consisting of 365 days, and divided into twelve months, each with a Native name. It commences with the 16th day of May of our time, eight of its months containing 30 days, three of them 31, and one 32. But, above all, they possess the art of writing, having invented an alphabet which expresses with adequate precision the native sounds of their own language, a language that is softer than the Malay, for even its liquids do

not coalesce with other consonants, and every word must either end in a vowel, an aspirate, or the soft nasal *ng*."

The island of Celèbes has another added interest in respect to the discussion of the natal origins of the Cape Malay community. Apart from the Bugis, the northern portion of the island in question is peopled by the Macassar tribe. The earliest distinguished personage of the Cape Malay society was the Macassar Sheikh Yusuf, who was exiled to the Cape for political reasons, remaining here from 1694-99. It was "he, his family and 49 followers were the first to read the Holy Koran in South Africa." A short sketch of the latter figure was given by H. C. V. Leibbrandt in his "Rambles Through the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700," (Cape Town, 1887) pp. 176-8.

Coming to the word Bugis itself, there seemed to be at one time a slight variation in meaning as regards its application. Under "Bugis," Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell in their *Hobson—Jobson: A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* (London, 1903, pp. 124-5) opine that "the name used to be applied in the Archipelago to native soldiers in European service, raised in any of the islands."

BOOK REVIEWS

The South African Journal of Economics, Vol. I, No. 4, December, 1933.

This issue of the *South African Journal of Economics* is of special interest to all who are engaged in Bantu studies, for no less than four of the articles in it deal with problems of race-contact, whether in South Africa or in U.S.A. Moreover, two of these articles have been written by economists belonging to the Dutch South African population—welcome evidence of the fruitful co-operation between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking students of the Native Problem.

The first of these four articles, on "The Union Native and the Witwatersrand Gold Mines," by Mr. C. L. Read, receives the place of honour, as the Presidential Address to the Society for 1933. Among the interesting points in it, we note that, in 1903, the percentage of East Coast Natives in the Native Labour Force on the Gold Mines was 88.9%. In 1928, the year in which the total number of East Coasters was at its highest, they still outnumbered Union Natives by 90,811 to 84,608. By 1932, on the other hand, the proportions were 58,823 East Coasters against 119,637 Union Natives, and throughout the ten-year period from 1923 to 1932 the average percentage of East Coasters was only 39.5%. We observe here the tendency of the Mines to rely increasingly on the Union for their Native Labour supply, as also the reverse side of this phenomenon, viz., the increasing economic pressure which drives the Union Natives into work on the Mines. In this connection, it is most satisfactory to have Mr. Read's emphatic declaration that "the Union Native is neither slothful nor unintelligent, and by his service and experience at the mines he develops his intelligence, expands his knowledge and becomes in the mass a more efficient section of the community" (p. 402).

Mr. Read tries to work out an estimate of the average annual earnings of Union Natives employed by the Gold Mines of the Rand, but finds himself seriously hampered by the lack of suitable statistical data. He presents one table, giving the total numbers of Union Natives on the Gold Mines for each year from 1923 to 1932. He presents a second table, giving the wages earned during these years by the total "Native and Coloured" labour force, i.e., by Union Natives *plus* East Coast Natives *plus* "Coloureds." From the two tables, taken together, he tries to work out how much of the total wages paid to all these workers went to Union Natives alone. The calculation is rough, at best, for there is no distinction made of grades of workers and grades of pay; nor are there,

apparently, figures available showing what percentage of Union Natives received what grade of pay for what grade of work. In other words, the calculation assumes that all workers receive exactly the same rate of pay. In addition, the first table includes a Mine which, though belonging geologically to the Rand field, is not included in the second table, the former table having been drawn up by the Department of Native Affairs, the latter by the Government Mining Engineer. Mr Read, unfortunately, does not tell us what correction should be made in one table or the other to bring them both on the same basis and make them strictly comparable. For a strict comparison, either the totals of workers in the first table would have to be reduced by the number of workers in the extra Mine, or the totals of wages earned, in the second table, would have to be increased by the wages of the workers in that same Mine. Whether Mr. Read has made this adjustment in the totals of earnings of Union Natives in his third table (p. 400), I cannot make out. But, a sample-checking of his results by the figures supplied (i.e. without adjustments), gives me slightly different amounts from his. It is a pity that, in a Presidential Address to an Economic Society, no higher standard of accuracy was attainable. But, the blame for this must be laid on the available statistics, not on Mr. Read.

In general, it is perhaps worth remarking that all statistics concerning Natives are in a most deplorable confusion, different authorities drawing up their tables on different principles. E.g., on comparing Mr. Read's figures with those given in the relevant sections of the Report of the Native Economic Commission, I find that, for the year 1930, the Commission gives the total of wages earned "by Natives in the gold mining industry in the Transvaal" as £7,055,729, against £6,735,187 in Mr. Read's second table. Of course, Mr. Read's table professes to cover only "the large Gold Mines," whereas the Commission's figure is, presumably, meant to cover all Gold Mines in the whole of the Transvaal. Even then one can only guess whether the Commission's "Natives" is intended to cover, like Mr. Read's second table, Union Natives *plus* East Coast Natives *plus* Coloureds, or has some other connotation. Again, Mr. Read calculates the value of the food, quarters, medical treatment, etc., supplied to Native Mine workers in addition to their cash wages, at 1/6 per day, whereas the corresponding figure in the Native Economic Commission, presumably also derived from the Gold Mining Industry, is "about 1/4 or 1/5 per day." It is most unsatisfactory to be given only such shifting approximations.

Moreover, there are many points on which one would gladly have had more information from Mr. Read. Actually, for a Presidential

Address on so important a subject, his paper is extraordinarily short : the reading of it can hardly have required half an hour. One would have liked to have his comments on the fact that, even with food, quarters, etc., thrown in, the wage of the Native mine worker is not one on which a family could be maintained in a Johannesburg Location, so that to this extent the Mines' wage-scale assumes the supplementary economy of the kraal ; or on that other fact, brought out by the Commission (sect. 827), that Natives have been steadily replaced by Whites in the more remunerative forms of work, like machine and hammer-work in drilling. In 1914, over 44,000 Natives were employed in such work, against about 18,500 in 1930. A bold reference to such facts as these would have lent a great deal of force to Mr. Read's rather discreetly worded criticism of the " rigidity of the colour-bar." Still, it is good to find him put the question : " Are they (i.e., the colour-bar regulations) in the best economic interests of the country and its population as a whole ? " And one welcomes, too, his closing endorsement of the recommendation of the Low Grade Ore Commission, that the regulations be so amended that trained Natives be allowed to perform any under-ground work they are capable of performing, consistently with the health and safety of all concerned.

Miss H. P. Pollak's article on " The Economic Position attained by the American Negro in America by 1930 and the Influence of the Depression upon Him," is an able and competent piece of work. It begins with illuminating statistics, illustrating the rapid economic progress of the American Negro community during the boom years, and the severe reaction during the depression, when the Negro not only suffered his full share of the prevailing unemployment, but found himself extensively displaced by White labour even in jobs of which, in more prosperous times, he had had a practical monopoly, or which he had at any rate been allowed to share with Whites. She shows how the Negro, already largely confined to " marginal jobs," is the first to become unemployed and destitute ; hence, the first to require relief. She gives an account of the relief measures provided, and illustrates the " social costs " of the Negroes' economic weakness ; e.g., in New York, the Negro death-rate from tuberculosis was, in 1930, 292 per thousand (against 62 per thousand among Whites) and had risen to that figure from its " lowest " point of 258 per thousand in 1928. Perhaps the most interesting of all her paragraphs is the last one on the " reactions of the Negro to the present situation." Unfortunately, it is too much packed with matter to lend itself to a short summary. However, broadly speaking, it may be said that the fate of the American Negro in the depression illustrates the same principle

as the fate of the Bantu worker during our depression, viz., that the economically weakest class suffers earliest and most, and receives least effective relief, whilst equally it is the last to benefit by returning prosperity and, when it does benefit, it benefits least. The treatment of Native labourers on our railways would alone suffice to point this moral.

Miss Pollak's article is preceded by one in which Dr. J. E. Holloway, until recently Head of our Census Department, summarises the reflections to which he has been led by a recent visit to U.S.A., with the help of a Carnegie travelling grant. He looked at the American scene definitely in the hope of finding pointers for South African Native Policy—perhaps I should say, in the hope of finding confirmation there for the policy advocated by the Report of the Native Economic Commission. His article is appropriately entitled: "The American Negro and the South African Abantu—a Study in Assimilation." Its main point is to contrast the American policy of "assimilation" with the proposed South African policy of "adaptation," the former being defined, in the words of the Native Economic Commission, as "trying to make the Bantu a black-European," the latter as "taking out of the Bantu past what is good, and even what is merely neutral, and, together with what is good of European culture for the Abantu, building up a Bantu future." Dr. Holloway's conclusion is that the U.S.A. policy of assimilation (to which, he recognises, there was no practicable alternative), in spite of having been continued for three centuries and having gone very far in many respects, has failed, and will go on failing, of complete fulfilment. Assimilation, so far as it has succeeded, was made possible by slavery and the forcible destruction of the slaves' own languages, tribal cohesions, customs and religious beliefs. The place of these has been taken by American as language, by Christianity as religion, by Western culture and economics for the original African art and economics of the slaves. But, at this point, the assimilation has stopped. For, in spite of a considerable degree of "racial assimilation" through miscegenation, of "social assimilation" there has been practically none. "Social assimilation, the mixture of Whites and Negroes on an equal footing in their homes in social intercourse, in public conveyances and places of entertainment, exists not at all in the South, and only to a limited extent in the North" (p. 427). Moreover, Dr. Holloway claims that racial assimilation by way of miscegenation is decreasing, and that, with the recent influx of Negro workers into Northern industrial towns, the feeling against social assimilation is rapidly growing in the North, too. The psychological factor of race-prejudice is spreading from South to North and promises to act as an insuperable barrier to complete assimilation.

On this topic of race-, or colour-, prejudice, Dr. Holloway offers some striking comments. Unlike other apologists for it, he apparently does not regard it as inborn and instinctive. Unlike a certain school of critics of it, he does not regard it as a mere cloak for economic self-interest, as a mere rationalisation on the part of the property-owning and privileged Whites for maintaining their position against "inferior" Blacks. In last analysis, he claims, the prejudice has "nothing to do with race or colour." It is analogous, for him, to other forms of social discrimination into which race and colour enter not at all, e.g., the prejudice of the High Castes in India against the Untouchables, or that of the cultured Englishman against the "proletarian droppers of h's"—in short, it is but a special case of the general prejudice of the upper and cultured classes everywhere against the primitive and poverty-stricken. "In all cases, where this prejudice exists, it is due to the fact that the group in which it occurs either made their first acquaintance or obtained their most lasting impression of the other group from individuals who were either culturally or economically on a lower level" (p. 430). In other words, the social exclusion from the main body of American life, which the modern Negro *intelligentsia* in U.S.A. feels so bitterly, is the legacy of the inferior status of their slave ancestors.

The moral which Dr. Holloway draws for our South African situation is twofold. First, the fact that our Bantu never were slaves, and that their own social organisations and traditions still exhibit a great deal of cohesion and vitality, leads him to conclude that their religious, economic, and cultural assimilation will be neither so easy, nor so desirable, nor so inevitable, as it was for the American Negro. And, secondly, the fact that the Bantu whom the Whites first met and from whom they derived their own stereotyped conception of them as "inferior," where primitive savages, has coloured the Whites' attitude with an indelible antagonism to racial and social fusion. Both considerations, taken together, yield for Dr. Holloway the conclusion that "unless one is prepared to envisage the ultimate complete assimilation of the Black and White elements in a country, it is wisdom also to avoid assimilation in those matters which are neither social nor racial" (p. 431). And he goes on: "A Bantu community developed (and let this word "developed" be stressed) on the basis of its own cultural heritage may in time become a separate, homogeneous, civilised group living in peace and contentment and full opportunity for progress next to but apart from the White man" (pp. 431, 2).

This sounds fine, but—! Stripped of its eloquence, it reveals itself as our old friend, the policy of "segregation." What does "next to but apart from" mean? Does it mean the relation of, e.g., French and

Germans in Europe? Or does it mean the relation of Whites and Negroes in U.S.A.? Dr. Holloway does not tell us. He quotes, however, with approval Booker Washington's famous simile: "in all things that are purely social . . . be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to human progress." Does he not realise that Booker Washington is here defending precisely the American system which Dr. Holloway condemns for South Africa? Does he not realise that the unity of the hand represents precisely that complete assimilation in religion, culture, economics, language which we have in U.S.A., and the separateness of the fingers precisely those invisible social barriers which U.S.A. seeks to maintain? Does he not see that Washington's simile is intended to take the sting out of these barriers for his fellow-Negroes by suggesting that they should freely accept, and themselves insist on, these barriers as a matter of group-pride; that, instead of feeling them as a social stigma, they should voluntarily embrace them as the condition of their own unhindered advancement in Western civilisation? Is not Dr. Holloway's own proposal to "avoid assimilation also in those things which are neither social nor racial," i.e., in things cultural and economic and religious, precisely a denial of Washington's "one as the hand?" Does Dr. Holloway want the Bantu Christianised or not? Does he want them to be trained as skilled workers or not? Does he want Bantu doctors or not? From his argument, it is impossible to tell. He seems to want to have it both ways. For, on the one hand, he clearly would like the Bantu to be as different as possible from the Whites, though "civilised in their own way" (whatever that may mean). On the other hand, he proposes, as we have seen, to give "what is good of European culture for the Abantu." The fundamental absurdity is that the whole language in which the adaptationist policy of the Economic Commission's Report is expressed, assumes that it is for the Whites to take or to withhold, to preserve or to destroy, what seems to themselves "good for the Bantu," who, apparently, are cast for the convenient role of plasticine to be fashioned by well-meaning Whites into any shape that pleases those same Whites. Why, we cannot even fashion our own children in that way! The Bantu will take, and even now are taking, from our civilisation what pleases them, be it good or bad; nor can we stop *that* "assimilation." And when peoples live together in the same country, are as intimately bound up with each other as are Whites and Bantu in South Africa, and when a civilisation is at once so inherently aggressive and self-communicating, and also as imitation-provoking, as is Western civilisation, it is preposterous for the small White minority of our population to say to the large Black majority: "only this and that is good for you—nothing else may you learn or adopt from us."

One last word about social assimilation in U.S.A. Certainly the barriers against social assimilation are at present strong. But will they always remain strong? There is some evidence that they are breaking down. There is, e.g., no reason to believe that "Jim Crow" cars are going to be enforced outside the Southern States. Has Dr. Holloway ever looked into the statistics of public swimming-baths in big American towns which are open to both Whites and Negroes without any discrimination whatever? Or of public parks? Has he ever visited certain American public schools where White children sit among Negro children of all shades of colour and Japanese, Chinese, and other Oriental children, all being trained to be good little Americans? Has he considered the phenomenon of "passing over"? Is he aware of the recent investigations, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution, which seem to show that colour can be bred out in four generations? And what does he think of U.S.A. being represented by Negro athletes at the Olympic Games, and of South Africa's best being beaten by these Negroes?

Where assimilation will ultimately stop in U.S.A. I am not bold enough to prophesy. But, I see no reason to think that it will stop where it is now. And, even if, in the end, it stops in conformity with the pattern implied in Washington's simile, surely the result is not to be regarded as an awful warning for us here in South Africa, but rather as the equilibrium which assimilation here, too, may tend to achieve and towards which a wise statesman will seek to guide the population, both White and Black, with the minimum of racial friction.

The last of the four articles is written in Afrikaans by Professor J. F. W. Grosskopf, of Stellenbosch University, on "*Die Plek van die Bantoe-Bevolking in die Suid-Afrikaanse Volkshuishouding.*" It continues the studies of the effects of our economic system on the Bantu which Professor Grosskopf had dealt with from another angle in his article, in the preceding issue of the *Journal*, on the movement and settlement of the Native population under present economic conditions. As was to be expected from an economist of Professor Grosskopf's reputation, his facts are well-grounded and objectively presented, though he might well have pointed out more strongly how much, in a study of this sort, he was hampered by the fact that the official statistics available to him are seriously out-of-date, owing to the failure of the last census to include the Native population of the Union. He rightly shows himself alive to the truth that we are in a transition period, in which the part played by the Bantu in the White economic system is still greatly influenced by the links which still bind many so-called "detribalised" Natives to the Reserves, and by their backward agricultural methods, and the persistence of the "cattle-

complex." Among the points which find statistical illustration, are (a) the relatively small number of Bantu women who are at present engaged in the White economic system ; (b) the slow, but steady, displacement of Whites by Bantu in many rural districts : e.g., in thirty-seven Cape districts, between 1911 and 1921, the White population decreased by 20.3%, whilst the Bantu population increased by 10.2% ; (c) the effect of the "White labour" policy, and also of the increasing entry of White women into industry, upon the opportunities for Bantu employment.

But, more interesting even than such facts, are the author's statements of principles and his comments on policy. Though he writes discreetly, it is obvious that, as a scientific economist, he is critical of a good many fashionable South African prejudices and nostrums for the solution of the Native problem. E.g., he does not believe that to give the Natives more land (an essential plank in the "segregation" policy) is going to afford more than temporary relief from the economic pressure which drives the Native into the White labour-market and into competition with the unskilled White. Again, whilst he is emphatic that, without Native labour our whole industrial and agricultural production would collapse, he offers an interesting defence of the "White labour" policy as an expedient—again purely temporary—for avoiding, not only actual race-conflicts, but also the exacerbation of race-feeling during a period of transition and instability. He appears to expect that ultimately Whites and Blacks will sort themselves out into the kinds of work for which they are severally best fitted, and that in this way a stable mutual adaptation will be achieved. But, pending this happy result, he holds it to be important to regulate and minimise conflict along the racial frontier by temporary barriers. (One's doubt, of course, is whether these barriers, once established by law, will prove as temporary as Professor Grosskopf would have us believe, seeing that the Natives have no effective vote and that the White voters' decision will be dictated by economic self-interest as well as race-prejudice). In any case, however, "there are signs that, in future social-economic developments, the old-fashioned principle of 'keeping the kaffer in his place' is not going to be always and everywhere applicable" (p. 464). Similarly, the colour-bar affords only a temporary alleviation, no permanent solution. Regarded as a permanent solution, it is even "*beskamend*," something for which Whites ought to feel ashamed.

Would that our public opinion and our politicians could learn from this sensible Professor of Economics !

R. F. ALFRED HOERNLE.

Die Nyamwezi, Texte, by Wilhelm Blohm, quarto, viii+101 pp. 1933. (Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg. R.M. 8).

This is a supplementary volume to Blohm's previous publications dealing with the Nyamwezi, his "*Land und Wirtschaft*" of 1931, and his "*Gesellschaft und Weltbild*" of 1933. The whole of this attractively printed volume is devoted to ethnological texts in the vernacular, which have been used in the construction of his previous publications. For the Nyamwezi student using the first two volumes these texts should prove of immense value for reference work, and should be of equal value to the European learner of Kinyamwezi. They form also valuable reading material for school purposes, being composed of those very subjects which reflect the life and thoughts of the people themselves. This quarto volume of over a hundred pages has the text in double column, arranged in over 300 headed paragraphs dealing with varying subjects such as "The House and Building," "Food Economy," "Industries," "Political Organisation," and various aspects of the religious beliefs of the people. It is from matter such as this that vernacular readers should be drawn up, and Mr. Blohm has done a real service for Nyamwezi in publishing these texts.

The author has employed an orthography much simplified and improved when compared with that used by Dahl in his "*Nyamwesi-Wörterbuch*." Practically a conjunctive method of word-division is followed, except in the cases of the possessive concord and the locative prefixes which are separated from the words to which they belong.

C.M.D.

The Early Cape Hottentots (Dapper—Ten Rhyne—Grevenbroek) with translations by I. Schapera and B. Farrington; and introduction and notes by I. Schapera. (The Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town. 1933.) Price 10/-; obtainable through booksellers or from the Secretary, S.A. Public Library, Cape Town.¹

The Van Riebeeck Society is to be congratulated on the publication of these three important texts relating to the XVIIth century Hottentots. The culture-type of these purely pastoral tribes has now almost entirely disappeared and it would have been hard to reconstruct it from the scant

¹ In this review, S.A.J.S. will stand for *South African Journal of Science*; B.S. for *Bantu Studies*; G.M. for *Godée-Molsbergen, Reizen in Zuid Afrika*, 4 Vols, 1916-1932; D. for *Dagverhaal van Jan van Riebeeck*, 3 Vols, 1884-1893; J.R.A.I. for *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

remnants of the present day, did we not possess such information as is to be gathered from these old texts.

Of these writers under review, Ten Rhyne is the thinnest and Dapper the fullest and most reliable. Students of the old Hottentot customs will be especially thankful to possess the original Latin of Grevenbroek, here printed for the first time and, to a less extent, that of Ten Rhyne, while Dapper's work, rare and valuable as it is, should be procurable at any well-equipped library. But it is convenient to have them printed in close proximity to each other.

The translations are on the whole well done and special commendation should go to Professor Farrington for the elegance of his work and the ease with which he has grappled with the very difficult Latin of Grevenbroek and Ten Rhyne.

Here and there, however, through lack of technical background, some strange things happen, for example that priceless "howler" of Dr. Schapera's who translates "trompet de marine" (p. 34) by "trumpet of the marines" (p. 35), which is neither a trumpet, being a stringed instrument, nor had it anything to do with the "marines," who presumably did not even exist in those remote days. He might have saved himself this amusing blunder if he had remembered Molière's ineffable and ignorant Mr. Jourdain (*Bourgeois gentilhomme*, Act II, Sc. I) or had he taken the trouble to consult Galpin's *Old English Instruments of Music*, 1910, p. 96-97. Or again Farrington's rendering of "tympanistriae" (p. 212) by "women . . . with their tom-toms" rather than the more correct "*tamboerijn speelsters*" of Van Oordt's translation.

The three forewords to the texts and the notes by Dr. Schapera call for some detailed notice, although the space allotted to this review can hardly be expected to cover all the ground. At the outset there arises a number of questions which can well be called fundamental, as they go to the very root of a correct study of the Hottentots and as they involve problems of historical method or of textual criticism. We propose to deal with these first.

1. Dr. Schapera attaches the usual meaning to the word "Hottentot" and he is quite right, for there seems no adequate reason to disturb accepted notions. But when he says: "When Dapper wrote, no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture," (p. 55 note 70), the facts do not support his contention.

A short history of the word "Hottentot," based on the examination of the available material, will clear up the position. It is not, of course, intended here to go into the question of its origin, as we can accept, provisionally at least, the suggestion of du Plessis (*S.A.J.S.*, 1932, p. 665), that it is derived from *hautitou*, a dancing-song burden, recorded by the French traveller Beaulieu (1620). The present reviewer's contribution to the discussion was that *hautitou* is probably a misspelling for *hantiton*, the *u* and *n* being easily interchanged, as is too well known to editors of Native texts, by an ignorant printer, if the letters are not properly formed. This possibility was suggested by the similarity between *hantiton* (which, being in the French spelling, would be represented phonetically by *hātītō*) and *tōtōtōtō*, the refrain heard by the reviewer in the songs of the Bloemhof Korana (Cp. Kirby, *B.S.* vi, p. 198-200).

What is intended here is to try to grasp the essential conception which was at the back of the word "Hottentot" in the minds of the early Dutch of the Cape. Their immediate neighbours, the pastoral tribes, the first Native inhabitants they had met on their arrival, they called Hottentots; but they also applied the name to other inhabitants of South Africa, as the field of their discoveries widened. Thus we have *Bosjemans Hottentots*, *Sonquase Hottentots* (Schrijver's name for the eastern Bushmen, 1689, *G.M.* iii. 106-107); *Snese Hottentots* (of the Bushmen of the Stormberg district). Dapper's own title is eloquent in this respect: *Kaffraria of Lant der Kaffers, anders Hottentots genaemt*. Nor is it a slip, for he repeats at least seven times the words "*Kaffers or Hottentots*" to designate one and the same people (pp. 42, 44, 48, 62, and 74, three times on this last page). Further, we find the shipwrecked sailors of the "Stavenisse" (1686) speaking of the Bantu of Natal as "*de Hottentots van Natal*," and "*de Natalsche Hottentots*," and contrasted with the "*Caabsche Hottentots*" (*G.M.* iii. 94). And, what is still more decisive, the same sailors, enumerating the Xhosa or Kafir (i.e. Bantu) tribes through which they passed from the scene of the wreck to the Keiskama River, summarise them under the one designation of "five sorts of Hottentots" ("*vijf soorten van Hottentoots*." *G.M.* iii. p. 93.) There is therefore ample evidence to conclude that, in the usage of the early days, the word "Hottentot" had a generic significance, denoting all the Native tribes of South Africa, whatever the stage of civilisation they had reached, very much as the Greeks used the term *βάρβαροι* to include the non-Greek speakers, the highly-civilised Egyptians and Romans as well as the more savage Scythian hordes.

The early Dutch, indeed, fully recognised the differences between the Bushmen and Hottentots and this from the very first. Thus, Winter-

vogel, their discoverer (March 1655), "found a certain tribe of very short stature, poverty-stricken and entirely savage, without any huts, cattle or anything in the world, clothed in short skins like our Hottentots and speaking almost like them." (D. 1. p. 465). It is impossible to quote fully in the short space available all the mass of evidence scattered in the old reports, but just another instance will suffice. When van der Stel was on his way to the Namaqua (1685), he noted of the five "wilden" (savages) he met: "They carry arrow, bow and assegais, have no cattle and live on honey and the game they shoot. They had a very rough and scaly skin. . ." (G.-M. i. 148); and to emphasise the differences, he, like many of his predecessors, calls his own men "our Hottentots" or "Cape Hottentots" as against the "Sonquas" (i.e., *Sa: kwa*, "Bushmen.")

2. Dapper drew the best of the information embodied in the Dutch text before us from MS. notes obtained from "an accurate investigator" ("door zekeren naukeurigen onderzoeker,") not, let it be said in passing, from "a diligent observer," as Dr. Schapera has it. Dr. Schapera finds good reasons for saying that "Wreede seems to have been the most likely person at the Cape to supply Dapper with the information," (p. 3), and, to emphasise his belief in the possibility, he even seriously asks the question "whether Dapper was in direct communication with Wreede." The reasons for this identification which seem so strong to Dr. Schapera are: firstly, that "internal evidence" shows that "the account was written about the time the vocabulary was compiled, i.e. 1662-1663." If, on Dr. Schapera's own showing, the author "gives the exact dates of several events occurring between 1659 and 1662, but not later," why stretch the date of the account by one year? In the second place, the fact that Wreede compiled a Hottentot vocabulary seems to have been a deciding factor in shaping Dr. Schapera's conclusions.

Theal, as Dr. Schapera points out, was the first to make that suggestion of authorship, and this conjecture was quoted by the present reviewer (*S.A.J.S.*, 1931, p. 498), who did not pursue it further, probably because he had some doubts about it even in 1931. Now that he has examined the matter more fully, these doubts have grown stronger for the following reasons. If Wreede really compiled the MS. notes, the most obvious thing to expect is that Dapper would have found in these notes a full and accurate description of what Wreede was most interested in, viz. the Hottentot language, instead of which we have the superficial, if picturesque passage of Hondius plagiarised by Dapper, as Dr. Schapera now conclusively shows, more than a year after du Plessis had equally conclusively proved the same thing (*S.A.J.S.* 1932, p. 661). Of two other Hottentot words found in Dapper, 's *Humma* (pp. 67 and 75) is questionably applied

to "God," when its true meaning is "heaven," a mistake we cannot attribute to so accurate a student as Wreede. The other word, found as *choeque* (p. 65), and *koehque* (pp. 25 and 69), "king," is spelt differently in Wreede's list, e.g., *k'koeqaè*. It is inconceivable that Dapper could have so radically changed the spelling of a word in a language he did not know. As a matter of fact, the spellings found in Dapper are more like those of van Riebeeck's *Dagverhaal* (iii. pp. 438, 399, 402, 403).

Again, if Wreede was the author of the notes in question, why should they have stopped at 1662? For Dapper's book was not published until six years after (1668), and Wreede was then still alive (he died in 1672). These reasons, more especially the language argument, make us very sceptical about Dr. Schapera's theory. Indeed, there were at the Cape in those days many able men who could have been the "accurate investigator" of Dapper; Van Meerhoff, who took part in three expeditions to the Namaqua, who was the journalist of two of them and whose interest in the Hottentots cannot be doubted, seeing that he married one of them, the fascinating and notorious Eva; Jan Danckaerts, who had travelled in Italy, Johannes Dorhagen, who was a Latin scholar, the fiscal Gabbema and even the great van Riebeeck himself. What suggests this last name is (i) the strange coincidence that the information in Dapper stops at 1662 and so does van Riebeeck's term of office at the Cape, and (ii) the form of his name *Rietbeek* in Dapper (pp. 18, 20, 34), a rare spelling of the Governor's name, which is found three times at least in the *Dagverhaal* (iii. 319, 359 and 432), towards the end of his Cape career. And when we suggest van Riebeeck, we mean that most probably the actual compiler of the notes was one of his underlings, such as Hendrik Lacus, the Secretary, or even a number of them, possibly acting on the Governor's orders. For at least in two places (p. 6.: "*uit bericht van eenige onlangs overgezonden schriften, door luiden, die zich een wijle aen dien oort hebben opgehouden,*" and p. 10 "*na het overschrijven der genen, die zich toen aldaer bevonden,*") Dapper himself gives us the hint that he had more than one informant for the composition of his text, which can be dated 1666 or 1667 (cp. p. 28: "*voor zeven of acht jaren, te weten des jaers 1659.*") But to tell the truth, decisive data on this question are missing, and until they are forthcoming, the wiser method is to acknowledge our ignorance frankly rather than build castles in the air which tumble down at the slightest touch of criticism.

3. The second foreword (that to Ten Rhyne) is conveniently short, with a very succinct biography of the Dutch traveller, drawn, we are told, from Michaud, whose article on Ten Rhyne is antiquated. It is a pity that the question of authorship was not adequately raised. Indeed,

the note signed by Professor Farrington does refer in passing to the fact that there was an "editor" of the Ms. and adds that "most of the footnotes seem to belong to Ten Rhyne" (p. 82). Apart from the title-page, which seems to have inspired the first statement, there is more in the Latin text. For the "editor" assures us that the original Ms. came from "Belgium" and that he proceeded "to purge the copy . . . from the mistakes of the scribes" (p. 85). Those who have had experience of the wholesale "editing" of travellers' texts in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries will appreciate what this may mean.

Since, in a future discussion of the authorship question, the correct form of the names of the "editor" and the sender of the Ms. may be of some considerable importance, it is well to indicate here what we know about them. The first is Henr(icus) Scretia Schotn, *from Zaborze*, not the meaningless "Schotn a Zavorziz" of the English translation (p. 85. Latin *a* or *ab*, "from ;" Zaborze, a town in S.-E. Silesia, W. of Königshütte). The second is properly Gaspar Sibelius, *from Goor*, not the equally meaningless "Sibelius a Goor" of the same translation, Goor being a small Dutch town, a few miles E. of Deventer, where Sibelius was apparently practising as a doctor. It was also in Deventer that another Gaspar Sibelius, a native of Elberfeld in Germany, came to settle in the early part of the XVIIth century as a minister of religion. There he died in the middle of the same century and he presumably was the founder of the Sibelius family in Holland. Through Professor Farrington omitting to translate a Latin preposition and failing to recognise Zaborze, even under its learned disguise, and Goor, under no disguise at all, the unfortunate impression is created that they are parts of family names, whereas they are really names of towns.

4. The third text (the Grevenbroek letter) presents a very interesting and fundamental problem, as on its solution rests the degree of credibility of the information the letter purports to impart. In the seven pages of the foreword and the two pages of the note we are merely informed that "the manuscript is not in Grevenbroek's writing" (p. 165) and a casual allusion is made to "the unknown person who made the copy" (p. 169).

On the title-page of the Ms. we read : "N. N. Graevenbroeckii elegans et accurata . . . descriptio," which the English version reproduces as "J. G. Grevenbroek," without a word of explanation. Again, the letter begins : "Admodum Revdo. Doctissimoque Viro N.N. S.P.D." This second "N.N." the translator reproduces by six dots, a very puzzling rendering to the uninitiated. We look in vain to the foreword or the note for some enlightenment, for they might have made a possible

suggestion that these mysterious letters stood, for instance, for "Non Nominatus." If this interpretation is correct, then a host of questions might have occurred to Dr. Schapera or Professor Farrington. Was Grevenbroek the real author? If so, why did he not use his own initials? If the second "N.N." denotes the sender of the greetings, to construe it according to the usual epistolary Latin formula, then why did Grevenbroek seek to hide his identity under this anonymous abbreviation? Strange proceedings, which might lead one to suspect that some other person was responsible for the letter. If so, then who was "N.N.?" In what form did the information come to him? And, this is a most material point, what was his method of transcription: a verbatim copy of the text, if he had one, or again an embellished account?

The important question of the "plagiarism" of Grevenbroek by Kolb is very fully discussed (pp. 162-166) and it is refreshing to see Dr. Schapera estimate all this long discussion as "pure speculation" (p. 166). On one point, however, he makes a mistake.

He states, after quoting the well-known passage of Kolb on the worship of the *mantis*, that "there is no other mention of Grevenbroek in the whole of Kolb's work." It is dangerous to make such a categorical statement without having carefully read the "whole work." As a matter of fact, there are at least two other references to Grevenbroek in Kolb (Nürnberg edition, 1719, pp. 353 and 354).

While on the subject of Kolb, it may be well to discuss a question which is of fundamental importance, namely his reliability as an informant on Hottentot customs. Dr. Schapera's opinion on this matter (p. 162), is that of the old school. He characterises Kolb's work as "the most detailed and serviceable treatise we possess on the early Cape Hottentots." Detailed he certainly is, but to call him "the most servicable" authority is surely misleading to-day, after the examples of his muddle-headedness (*S.A.J.S.*, 1931, p. 499), the futility and unfairness of his criticism (*J.R.A.I.*, 1933), his credulity and the fancifulness of his information (*S.A.J.S.* 1931 p. 521-523), have been decisively proved. Again, the pictures chosen for the "Early Cape Hottentots" and drawn from Kolb's Dutch edition are another example of his many inaccuracies; to take only one instance in the plate (facing p. 132), we see a Hottentot lustily playing the *gom-gom* (to which Professor Kirby has done justice), and the only music to which the Hottentots dance is either that of the *jkheis* (drum) or *≠a:di* (reed-pipes). Further studies now nearing completion or actually in the press will probably add to this long list of disabilities which singularly unfit Kolb for the task he had assumed, and we cannot but agree with the

severe but strictly just estimate of Sir Andrew Smith, one of the foremost zoologists this country has ever seen, when he speaks of Kolb's "indiscreet credulity" (*Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, Mammalia, letter-press to Plate xix).

5. It is entirely misleading to say that "Ten Rhyne's list of words, like other early vocabularies, omits the clicks and the sex endings," (p. 155).

In the first place, Wreede makes an attempt at indicating the clicks and even the ejective velar affricate *kx'*, though his transcriptions lack the precision of modern phonetic methods.

In the second place, a number of Ten Rhyne's Hottentot words distinctly show the so-called "sex endings," which Dr. Schapera seems to have completely missed.

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| (a) Masculine singular :— <i>ba</i> | <i>gamma</i> , "lion," phonetically :
<i>xamma</i> , from * <i>gam-ba</i> .
<i>boe-ba</i> , "ox or cow," a curious mixture of meanings. The proper Hottentot is <i>gomab</i> , "ox" and <i>go-mas</i> , "cow." |
| (b) Feminine singular :— <i>s</i> | <i>sirigoo-s</i> , "tortoise," not "tortoises" as in Ten Rhyne.
<i>ninimo-s</i> , "bronze bead," Proper Hottentot \neq <i>eis</i> . |
| (c) Masculine plural :— <i>qua</i> (- <i>kwa</i>) | <i>ac-qua</i> , "horse" (Ten Rhyne). Properly <i>hakwa</i> , "horses."
<i>e-qua</i> , "wood," Properly <i>hei-kwa</i> , "sticks of wood, firewood," from the sing. masc. <i>hei-b</i> . |
| (d) Feminine plural :— <i>di</i> | <i>goe-di</i> , "sheep" (Ten Rhyne). More properly "ewes," from sing. fem. <i>gu:s</i> , "ewe." |

Since we are speaking of language, it is appropriate to point out some omissions and errors :

1. *!goura* (p. 76, note 86), the stringed wind instrument of the Hottentots should be *gora* or *goras* (Kirby, *B.S.*, v. 89-109). The reviewer can assure the reader that he has never heard any Hottentot pronounce it with even a suspicion of a click. The mistake originated with

Sparrman, who was no linguist, was again perpetrated by Stow, who knew no Hottentot, and was perpetuated by Passarge, who had never seen a *gora* among the Hottentots, and by Schapera himself three or four years ago in his *Khoisan Peoples*, (p. 401).

2. *haukx'u*, "seven" (p. 283, note) should be *haũkx'ũ* where the nasal vowel is represented in Grevenbroek's *hunkou*, thus supporting the latter's attempt at accuracy.

3. *!kurin//aikwa*, "Goeringhaiquas" (p. 10, note 10) should be *!kurɪŋ//aikwa*, it being one of the small discoveries of the reviewer that a *ɪ* develops before a click under certain conditions, thus bringing the suggested word closer to the Dutch transcription.

4. In connection with Dr. Schapera's reference to "Korana, which is a closely-allied language" to Cape Hottentot (p. 155), the reader, curious to know more, should refer to "The place of Korana among the Hottentot dialects" (*B.S.* vi. pp. 152-153), where for the first time the problem was dealt with and a correct solution offered.

The discussion of these fundamental points has had to take a good deal of room, and not enough space is left for a number of important questions which can only be referred to briefly here, and many things of lesser importance will have to be sacrificed.

A. With regard to moon-worship it is admitted by Dr. Schapera that the available evidence is "most sketchy," although he seems to quote with approval Roos and Marais' and Kolb's "prayer to the moon" (p. 138, note 41) and seeks further to strengthen his argument by an appeal to Bushman folk-lore. We confess that we are not impressed.

B. *Heitsi-eibib* is "another conspicuous figure" which Dr. Schapera seems to ascribe to all the Hottentot tribes. Nothing is less certain. It was Hahn who, quoting a report of Corporal Muller, interpreted the *Hette hie* he found there as *Heitsi-eibib* (*Tsuni //goam*, p. 36) and Dr. Schapera seems to agree with this feat of philological juggling. Apart from this bad joke perpetrated by Hahn, there is no evidence of *Heitsi-eibib* figuring in the pantheon of the Cape Hottentots. As for the Korana, a very full and very little known account of their religious beliefs by that expert, Rev. C. F. Wuras (*Jahresbericht* of the Berlin Mission, Jahrgang 1843, p. 31) makes no mention whatever of any such worship, nor did the reviewer's own investigations among the Bloemhof Korana lead to the discovery of any trace of *Heitsi-eibib* among them. It seems therefore as if he was entirely confined to the Nama or the tribes who came into contact with them.

C. We read in the *Early Cape Hottentots* this note by Dr. Schapera : "The *rommelpot* is the instrument known to the modern Korana as /*khais*, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi. 183-185 " (pp. 76-77). Turning to this periodical, we find the following by Kirby : "There can be no doubt that the /*khais* of the Korana is the drum for long associated with the Hottentots, being depicted and described again and again by the travellers, and wrongly named by the Dutch Colonists *rommelpot*. . . . It was used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs which were sung during certain dances." Kirby, then, not merely described the instrument, but named it by its Korana name, identified it and also corrected an inaccuracy about it. It would have been gracious of Dr. Schapera to have acknowledged these facts, and to have also enclosed within inverted commas the sentence quoted from Kirby.

D. The historical footnotes extracted by Dr. Schapera from the *Dagverhaal*, *The Record* of Moodie, Godée-Molsbergen, etc., are useful and would have been more so, if he had relied less on Leibbrandt's *Précis*, which is far from accurate, rather than the standard Utrecht edition of the *Dagverhaal*, for instance. It is a pity that these footnotes are disfigured by inaccuracies, of which we shall take only one concrete instance. On pp. 8-9, note 6, there are 5 dates of the *Dagverhaal*, which we give below and to which we append our comments, together with the relevant pages of the *Utrecht* edition and the correct dates.

July 8, 1658. Correct (D.ii. pp. 452-453).

Oct. 12, 1654. No mention of contents of footnote (D.i. p. 396). The facts are to be found in a letter dated Oct. 12 and inserted under the date of the 15 Oct. (D.i. pp. 397-400).

Sept. 15, 1655. No mention of contents of footnotes (D.i. p. 534). Correct date Sept. 5.

June 8, 1658. No mention of contents of footnote (D.ii. 411-412). Correct date: July 8?

July 5, 1659. No mention of contents of footnote (D.iii. pp. 136-138). Correct date: August 4 and 5.

The Hottentot name of Claes Das is twice given in the footnote and twice misspelt.

In conclusion, the reviewer, it must be said, has felt in an embarrassed position, not knowing precisely for what class of readers the *Early Cape Hottentots* was compiled. If it is intended for "popular" consumption,

then all the sins of omission and commission detailed above might not matter, while the "general introduction" makes it pre-eminently suitable for such an end. If, on the other hand, the book has scientific pretensions, for it has an elaborate "apparatus criticus," then enough has been said, though more could have been added. It is a pleasant task, however, to recall once again that the texts (Latin and Dutch) and, for those who cannot read the original or who do not believe in doing so, the translations, are a welcome addition to the Van Riebeeck Society's publications.

L. F. MAINGARD.

Lovedale Tracts, Lovedale Press, 3/- per 100.

A long-felt want will be met in the publication of this series of Xhosa tracts. The first two are *Umhlwayeli* (the Sower), and *Unyana Wolahleko* (the Prodigal Son). Each comprises four pages, the front page being devoted to an illustration by a Native artist, a commendable feature.

C.M.D.

Outlines of a Nuer Grammar, by Father J. P. Crazzolaro, Vol. XIII of the *Anthropos Linguistic Series*, Vienna, 1933; price 12 marks.

This is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of one of the languages of the Upper Nile, upon which there has hitherto been published no grammatical work worthy the name. The book contains a mass of material of an extremely complicated nature, and recorded with meticulous care as to forms, and phonetic and tonetic variations. The author has used the orthography proposed by the Rejaf Conference; but the necessity for the marking of tone has made this very complicated. It is rather a pity that the English phraseology was not improved before the book was published.

In the introductory section on Sounds, a tremendous wealth of vowel sounds is revealed, Father Crazzolaro recording twelve vowels and eighteen diphthongs. There is an interesting consonantal system employing four interdental sounds, while stop consonants are shown, when final, to be incomplete, i.e. with no exploded release.

In § 20 are recorded the elements of inflexion. They are five: (1) the suffixes, (2) the quality of vowels, (3) the quantity of vowels, (4) change of the final consonant of the stem, and (5) intonation. These are of extreme importance, permeating the whole of the noun, in forming plurals,

possessives and locatives, and the whole of the verb. The subject of Tone is given its due importance. The author writes: "I feel that many of them (learners) will regard this whole matter of Intonation somewhat as a burden. I regret I cannot help them. I am of the opinion that it is impossible to learn the Nuer language well without taking Intonation into consideration; and a grammar, laid down for foreigners to learn Nuer, without Intonation, is defective." Tonal inflexion permeates the whole structure. A glance at the three tonal figures for verbs is sufficiently convincing of this.

The author points out that there is no grammatical gender in Nuer, but proceeds to a treatment of cases. After pointing out that nouns whether "nominative" (denoting subject), "accusative" (denoting direct object) or "dative" (denoting indirect object) are identical, he discusses the genitive and locative cases. It is word-position that determines whether a noun is subject or object (direct or indirect); the adjective has "no genitive or locative case"; and in § 375 the author states, "adverbs derived from nouns stay in the locative case." From this it is surely obvious that "case" is a misnomer in Nuer. The "locative case" should be treated as locative adverbs formed from nouns. Similarly the "genitive" should be considered as possessive adjectives formed from nouns.

The author is unable to formulate definite rules for plural formation from nouns. He gives long lists of words showing in each case which of the inflexional elements is brought into play. It is to be hoped that the rules governing choice of form will come to light.

The whole treatment of the adjective is of interest, "adjective particles" are used to distinguish singulars from plurals, and the same particles prefaced to nouns form adjectives therefrom. The system of numeration in Nuer is decimal.

Among the personal pronouns it is interesting to note three forms in the first person plural, the exclusive (I and he or they, excluding you), the dual inclusive (I and thou), and the plural inclusive (I and you pl.). The verb is treated at considerable length and in great detail. One feels however that European classification has been followed too slavishly; especially is this noticeable with the pronoun. With the verb insufficient detailed consideration has been given to the terminology employed.

One cannot but be struck by the richness of inflexion in Nuer, and the remarkable way in which phonetic and tonetic considerations go all through the grammar.

C.M.D.

Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages, by D. Westermann and I. Ward (International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. 1933).

A great number of the studies on the pronunciation of the different African languages have been marred by a lack of a uniform system,—which makes comparison between the languages of the different groups difficult,—also by an inadequate knowledge of the speech-sounds, by untrained ears which had tried to hear European speech-sounds, or which had failed to recognise the totally different functions of tone, stress, duration, or features like implosion, aspiration, ejection, etc., unfamiliar to the European ear. Other excellent studies by trained phoneticians have used different systems of orthography, which again makes comparison difficult.

The *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages*, must serve as a guide to future research workers and missionaries, and as such it is a very helpful little book indeed. It points out the difficulties which the student will encounter, initiates him into the different sounds, and gives a wealth of examples and helpful texts to illustrate the work.

Not only the student will find this work of the two very able scholars helpful, but linguists also, interested in the comparative and general study of sound systems, will find in this work useful material as for instance the comparison of the vowel systems dependent on the degree of opening and closing and of “frontness” or “backness.”

It stresses the value of ear training,—which does not mean that the investigator must of necessity have an ear for music—advocates practical exercises for the control of the speech-organs and points out the pitfalls for the English and German investigators. The writers use the phoneme principle in their orthography and they advocate the use throughout of the principles as set forth in the “memorandum on practical orthography of African languages.”

It is a pity that the authors did not use their uniform orthography throughout, especially when treating of the different languages separately. Also, since phonetics is a practical science, a chapter on experimental work and the use and importance of certain simple instruments should have been included.

Another objection, which may be brought forward, is that the authors treat of African languages as one group, which gives the impression that the different language-groups are in some way connected, that the problems existing for one group must necessarily pertain for the other. Would it not have been better to have divided the different groups :

Bantu languages, Sudanic languages, Hamitic languages, and to have devised a system that would best have suited each group ?

In their treatment of syllables, diphthongs, vowels, the authors still follow old and may be practical notions, instead of subscribing to the views that syllables as divisible entities do not exist, that vowels are mainly dependent on a configuration of the resonance chamber and not mainly on tongue position in an ascending or descending scale of height, etc. The treatment of implosives and ejectives could have been clearer and fuller.

The authors give a very lucid and simple exposition of their material and I can recommend this work by these two eminent workers in the field of African linguistics to all interested in the study of African languages.

P. de V. PIENAAR.

The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Efik, by I. C. Ward. W. Heffer and Sons 1933. Price 8/6.

Up to recent times the science of Phonetics somewhat neglected the study of tone, because it was concerned primarily with the investigation into the *quality* of speech-sounds. This seems quite natural of the European, and especially of the Teutonic and Romance languages, since for them, with a few exceptions, the *quality* of the speech-sound is the most important element in the make-up of every sound, functioning as a differentiating factor in these languages. It was perhaps not sufficiently realised that the other three elements, viz. tone (frequency), length (duration), and stress (intensity), can have just as important functions as differentiating elements as the afore-mentioned quality.

Up to recent times too, even in European languages, the science of phonetics was mostly concerned with the analytical investigation into the nature of speech-sounds as they occur singly or in words ; but the sound-group dependent on the breath pauses or on the concept-group, was shamefully neglected. Misleading statements thus found their way into scientific works, as that English and German were non-tonal languages, as opposed to Chinese and Ewe, as if tone does not function at all in the first named languages.

From a comparison of the functions of quality, tone, stress and duration in different language families, I am prone to accept Wundt's statement that in any language there must be a relative limit to what the human intelligence can grasp, as regards the make-up or form of the

language and that therefore it seems logical that if one language shows a preference to use quality as a differentiating factor, it will do so to the partial exclusion of the other elements. Consequently we find in the so-called "tone" languages like Ewe, Efik, Zulu, a relatively simple sound system especially in regard to the vowels, the main bearers of "tone," although they possess a complicated tonal structure. To get a true perspective therefore of the phonetic structure of a language—using the term "phonetic" to include all the elements in the make-up of a speech-sound—the quality, tone, duration and stress should all be treated of together, and the influence of these elements on one another be recorded.

In this book before us, the able phonetician, Miss Ida C. Ward, has given us a very clear exposition of the tonal structure of the Efik, a Sudanic language belonging to the Nigero-Cameroon group. She first of all gives a short but lucid description of the sound system of Efik and in Part II she describes the tones divided into the categories: (a) Semantic tones of words and (b) the grammatical function of tone.

The grammatical variations of the tones of Efik have been very fully dealt with and the results clearly set out. Miss Ward's remarkable findings have proved again that most of our so-called "grammars" are hopelessly obsolete, as Jespersen has pointed out in his *Philosophy of Grammar* or as Kuhlmann in "*Die Tonhöhen Bewegung des Aussagesatzes*" puts it: "*In die Grammatik jeder lebenden Sprache und Mundart gehört eine planmässige und eingehende Darstellung der Tonhöhenbewegung.*"

Tonal change of form to perform grammatical function, or to express a semantic difference, belongs just as much to the "grammar" of a language as the use of auxiliaries or other morphological elements.

Miss Ward's investigations only and rightly deal with *relative* pitch. She found three levels of tone viz., high, mid and low, of which the high and the low levels only are significant, the mid-level resulting from assimilating a high to a low level. A rising and a falling tone also exist and here again Miss Ward rightly disregards the fact that it may be mid-rising or low-rising, high-falling and mid-falling. She seems to agree with Peters in her findings—and this may be verified from the numerous examples given—that the semantic value of tone lies not in the actual sequence of high or low tones, but in tone-contrast.

For the two-syllabled nouns she distinguishes seven tone classes, which retain their inherent tones, when used as the subject, the object of the sentence and when occurring after a so-called preposition. The inherent tones may be changed when influenced by certain adjectives, and

when the noun occurs in the "genitive." As regards the verb, to which the greater part of the study is devoted, the inherent tone is kept in most forms. Each tense and mood has a tone pattern of its own, formed by special arrangements of the tone of the prefix and the auxiliary, together with the inherent tone of the root. However, in some cases, the inherent tone of the verb is overruled by a special tense or mood tone, as occurs in the subjunctive of the Aorist, which has all the prefixes low. Interesting too are the changes occurring with reduplication and tone assimilation.

As we have in Efik to do with a living language, and since no sentence is spoken without "tone-movement," as Kuhlmann puts it, caused by the tension and relaxation, the excitation and the calming down of the emotions which give rise to physiological tension and relaxation of the muscles concerned, it follows that changes in the "tone pattern" occur, which Miss Ward, not wishing to deviate on to the by-paths of speculation, did not attempt to explain.

Miss Ward employs the Klinghardt system of tone marking, recording the level tones on the individual syllables by dots, the gliding tones by an arrow in the direction of the glide, as opposed to Laman's musical notation, Doke and Pee's numerical notation and Jones' intonation curves.

As Miss Ward does not tell us how these investigations of the Efik tonal structure were made, I presume that she determined the tones by the ear. It is a pity that the results of such an excellent bit of research were not verified by experimental investigation. Gramophone records for checking purposes were made of Mr. E. I. Ekpenyon's speech. Personally I favour the intonation curves, gained from kymograph tracings, by means of the Meyer-Schneider tone-measuring apparatus or the simplified Fürstenburg apparatus, since even with training, the results gained by the ear are imperfect, and I agree with Kuhlmann, when he remarks: "This uncertainty (as to the results gained by means of the ear), is the reason why comparison of results of different investigators, is only then scientifically to be trusted, when they have all made use of experimental methods, in which the sources of error which result from subjective observation are eliminated."

The value of the work is further enhanced by a number of texts in which the tones are marked. Miss Ward is to be congratulated on being granted the D.Litt degree by the University of London, on this excellent new addition to the growing number of works on tone.

P. DE V. PIENAAR.



bum bi
 pam bi
 dun ga
 tèn da
 gom so
 kam be
 kan ti
 vim ba
 fun da
 zem ka
 sèn ga
 ham ba
 lin da
 nam pa
 nan ga
 wam bi
 yim bi
 can da
 qon da
 tèm ba
 jin ga
 kan da
 kon xa
 tam ba
 yon ke

IN KO MO zon ke ze zi ka-Ti-
 xo: un gum ni ni zo yè na. Kun-
 ga bi ko nùm tu o zi ci ta yo. I pi-
 we gu ye i mi fi si, ne mi ti yon-
 ke zi ya pi la ga yo; a pi we na-
 man zi e zi wa sè la yo. Yim vu-
 me yom ni ni zo u ku ba zi kon-
 ze ti na 'ban tu in ko mo; zi ya-
 si kon za go ko. Za pi wa in ko-
 mo ku-No wa, na ku ti gu-Ti xo
 um ni ni zo, u ku ze si zi xè le, si-
 pi le ga zo; zi xè li we go ko. Zi-
 xè li we in ko mo, go ku ba e vu-
 me le ne na zo um ni ni zo; go ko
 si na so i si xa so e si ku lu e si pi-
 la ga so. Zi ya ni ka i ma zi za-
 ko we tu lo ma si e si wa sè la yo
 a da li we yo gu-Ti xo. Si nen gu-
 bo, nem va ba, ne zin to e zi nin-
 zi ge zi kum ba zen ko mo ze tu.
 Zi da li we in to e zi nin zi ga be-
 lun gu ga ma tam bo en ko mo,
 nem pon do za zo. En zi we lo-
 ma ba la on ke e zi na wo in ko mo
 gu-Tixo um ni ni zo.

REV. JOHN BENNIE, THE FATHER OF KAFIR LITERATURE

By REV. ROBERT GODFREY

In an address delivered before the Missionary Conference at King Williamstown on 6th July, 1887, the Hon. Charles Brownlee applied to the Rev. John Bennie the title of "The Father of Kafir Literature." The Gaika Commissioner did not consider it necessary to justify such a title to his audience, but passed on at once to deal with other matters; he has however left us of a later date lamenting that he did not out of his full knowledge state the facts on which he formed his judgment.

Before making the attempt to justify the title given to John Bennie, let us look briefly at the man, as we catch glimpses of him in the extant letters written from Ncera a hundred years ago by his bosom-friend John Ross. The mission premises which existed at Ncera at that time were built in the form of a square with a frontage of forty-five feet, and were bordered in front by a garden so planned as to keep the Kafirs from repeating the tactics they had followed at the Tyume of crowding round the door and the windows; in these premises one of the front rooms was assigned to the industrious young scholar, John Bennie. For a number of years he was the only bachelor of the mission-community, but he shared in all the joys and sorrows of the little circle. When loving hearts brought their offerings to the little Margaret Ross, he brought his also,—two pairs of shoes, one being worsted, and two frocks; and when, on 29th April 1825, the child died he mourned with the Thomsons and the Brownlees over her little grave. He played his part too in superintending the ordinary activities of the station, such as the making of the dam and the furrow, and with John Ross took turns in paying the Native workers on the Saturday night in the only wages they would accept,—beads, thirty strings a head. In those days the Kafirs steadily refused clothes as wages, though they were willing to accept them as presents.

But more and more John Bennie concentrated on his study of the Native language, and on 18th November, 1824, he reported to his Presbytery his design of entering upon the compilation of an extended and systematic vocabulary of the Kafir language. All his exercise in those days—with the exception of a Saturday afternoon's fishing—was an occasional ride to the Tyume for the purpose of obtaining better assistance in his

Kafir studies than he could from the interpreter at Ncera. In 1826 appeared *A Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language in two parts ; to which is prefixed an Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar*—By John Bennie. Printed at the Glasgow Mission Press, Lovedale.

A copy of this work exists in the Grey Library at Cape Town ; and from Bleek's Catalogue we gather that the Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar consists of 1. Of Pronunciation. 16 mo. Pages 3-12.

Bleek adds that later Kafir Grammarians are in no small degree indebted to this chapter as far as regards the arrangement of the alphabet, the definition of the Pronunciation, etc., etc.

In addition to this printed " Introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar," there exists a MS. grammar, dated 1832, now in the keeping of his grandson, Mr. W. G. Bennie. This MS.,—dated two years before the appearance of the first complete Kafir Grammar in print, that of W. B. Boyce—shows that Bennie carried his researches very much further than his few printed sheets would indicate. It is an elaborate treatise on the Kafir alphabet and the Kafir syllables, followed by detailed discussions on the noun, the adjective, the numeral, the pronoun and the verb.

Over and over again Bennie seems to be on the point of discovering the Euphonic Concord, but he never actually strikes it ; and, without this key to unlock the secret of the Kafir tongue, he labours at unnecessary length in his rules and exceptions. But, in spite of all this, he anticipates much that is embodied in later grammars, and notes also some things that are not to be found there.

Some quotations from the MSS. will help to indicate the scholarly nature of this first attempt to deal with Kafir grammar.

Alphabet

" *a*, when it precedes *y*, seems to have the diphthongal sound of *ai*,—*naye*, *isibaya*.

o, when followed by *y*, seems to have the diphthongal sound of *oi*,—*uboya*, *umoya*.

b, in verbal prefixes chiefly, has a sound which seems to be something between *b* and *p*.

n has always a ringing sound when it precedes *g* and *k* and *x*,—*tunga*, *senga*, *onke*, *isonka*."

Clicks

In addition to " the semidental klick " *c*, " the palatal klick " *q*, and " the lingual klick " *x*, Bennie gives another which he represents by a *c* (*ċ*)

with a diaeresis over it, and of which he says that it "represents a klick which is produced by withdrawing the tongue from the pressure of that organ on the palate. Note : this klick is not easily formed ; it however seldom occurs, but when it does occur it may be expressed by the simple semidental klick. In sound it seems to be something between the simple *c* and *q* klicks, with the sound of *n* conjoined." His examples would in our orthography be spelled *ncotula*, *uncutu*, *incele*.

This exceedingly interesting reference to the alveolar click, represented by the symbol \neq in the Khoi-khoi languages, proves to us that in Bennie's day this click was differentiated by the Natives of Eastern Cape Colony and could be recognised. It is doubtful if this click has any longer a place in the Kafir alphabet.

Consonant Combinations

Twenty letters, detailed, "are conjoined with *w*." "The letters *d*, *t* and *n* are conjoined with *y*,—*tyala*, *idyungudyungu*, *unyawo*. *Dy* and *ty* are conjoined with *w*,—*dywida*, *tywila*."

"The consonants which terminate a syllable are *m* or *n*. When *m* terminates a syllable in a word, the first letter of the succeeding syllable may be any one of the following consonants" (52 are detailed) "simple or compound. When *n* terminates a syllable in a word, the first letter of the following syllable may be one of the following" (37 are detailed).

Accent

"The accent is placed on the penultimate . . . and when a word receives an increase, it draws the accent forward. . . . An exception to this rule places the accent on the final syllable of a few words, as *u-ma*, mother of the first person ; *iten-qi* [*ite-nqi*] firm ; *ditenqa* [*ndite-nqa*] I am astonished.

"The rising or the falling inflexion of the accent gives to words, which correspond in letters, a different signification :—*bona*, see, they ; *umnya-ma*, dark, the rainbow ; *tiya*, snare, hate."

This significant allusion to the rising or the falling inflexion of the accent is the first reference to the existence of tone in Kafir as a means of distinguishing words spelt alike.

The Noun : Gender

"Of the Noun. The sexes are distinguished sometimes by different words : as, *ubawo*, *uma* ; *indoda*, *intokazi* ; *umfo*, *umfazi* ; *inkunzi*, *imazi* ;

but the feminine is most frequently distinguished by affixing the particle *kazi* to the noun ; as, *umxosa, umxosakazi*."

The Plural Number of Nouns

" 1. Nouns in *i* form their plural by dropping the *i* and assuming *ama* : as, *ihashe, amahashe*.

" 2. A class of nouns in *in* form their plural by dropping the *in* and assuming *ama* : as, *indoda, amadoda ; inkwenkwe, amakwenkwe* (The *n* which precedes *k* in this word seems to be inserted for the sake of sound) ; *intsimi, amasimi*.

" 3. A class of nouns in *i* form their plural by changing *s* their first consonant into *z* : as, *isonka, izonka*.

" 4. Nouns in *ili* form their plural by dropping the *ili* and assuming *ama* ; as, *iliwa, amawa*.

" 5. A class of nouns in *i* form their plural by changing *i* short into *i* : as, *intaka, intaka ; imvaba, imvaba ; ihangu, ihangu*. Note—The plurals of these two classes [Bennie originally separated nouns beginning with *in* and *im*] of nouns are easily distinguished when in construction, for their number is then determined either by the verb, the adjective, etc., or by the assumption of the particle *zi* : as, *inkomo yam*, my beeve ; *inkomo zam*, my cattle.

" But sometimes, tho' not frequently, the particle *zi* is assumed when the noun is in its simple plural form : as, *into, izinto*.

" 6. Nouns in *u* form their plural by changing the *u* into *o* : as, *unomyayi, onomyayi*.

" 7. A second series of nouns in *u* form their plural by dropping the *u* and assuming *in* : as, *udonga, indonga ; usiba, intsiba* (*s* of the singular number is changed in the plural into the compound sound *ts*, because *n* and *s* do not agree) ; *uhlobo, intlobo* (the compound consonant *hl* of the singular number takes the compound consonant *tl* in the plural, because *n* and *hl* do not agree) ; *ucango, ingcango* [in present day orthography] (*c* of the singular number is changed in the plural into *gc*, because *n* and *c* do not agree).

" 8. Another class of nouns in *u* form their plural by changing the *u* into *i* : as, *ukwimi, ilwimi ; ubuhlanti, ibuhlanti*.

" 9. A third class of nouns in *u* form their plural by dropping the *u* and assuming *im* : as, *ubende, imbende*.

" 10. A class of nouns in *um* change the *um* into *imi* : as, *umti*, *imti* ; *ummango*, *imimango*.

" 11. Another class of nouns in *um* form their plural by changing *um* into *aba* : as, *umtwa*, *abatwa*.

" Some nouns of this class form their plural irregularly : as, *umtu*, *abantu* ; *umvi*, *abevi* ; *ummi*, *abemi* ; *umlungu*, *abelungu*.

" Some of the same class are still more irregular, owing to their being formed from irregular verbs : as, *ummoni*, *aboni* ; *ummaki*, *abaki* ; *ummenzi*, *abenzi*.

" 12. A third class of nouns in *um* form their plural by dropping the *um* and assuming *ama* : as, *umxosa*, *amaxosa* ; *umpakati*, *amapakati* ; *umbele*, a teat, *amabele*, teats.

" 13. A class of nouns in *ulu* or *ula* change these particles in the plural into *izi* or *iza*, assuming also *n* or *m* for the sake of sound ; as, *uluvi*, *izimvi* ; *uluhlu*, *izintlu* ; *uluti*, *izinti* ; *ulusu*, *izintsu* ; *ulutya*, *izintya* ; *ulavila*, a sting, *izamvila*."

Bennie's number of classes was fourteen. The one given above as five originally formed two, but when he joined these two he blotted out the definition of the *im-im* class, without blotting out its number.

Diminutives and Augmentatives

" Many nouns affix the particle *na* by which they suffer a degree of diminution." This is exemplified at length in eight lists of words, three of which deal with palatalized forms and one with the change of *l* into *thl* [dl] as in *amadolo*, *amadothlwana* ; *ityolo*, *ityothlana*.

" Many nouns suffer a still greater degree of diminution by a repetition of the particle *na*, as *into*, *intwana*, *intwanana* ; *ipempe*, *ipentshana*, *ipentshanana*.

" Many nouns insert the particle *za* before their diminishing particle *na*, by means of which a degree of fitness, neatness or beauty, is expressed, as : *urangwazana*, a pretty little door ; *intwadazana*, a pretty little looking-glass ; *intonqazana*, a pretty little stick ; *amatyazana*, beautiful small stones.

" Many nouns obtain an increment by affixing the particle *kazi*, as : *umfazikazi*, a superior woman ; *inkunzikazi*, a powerful woman. Many nouns, chiefly in *i-ama-*, increase their quantity or their quality considerably by changing their last vowel, if not *i*, into *i* and affixing the particle *duna*, as *ihashiduna*, *izembiduna*, *imininduna*, *ilifiduna*, *ilishwiduna*.

... These nouns add to their increment by means of the adjective *nkulu*, great.

"The author entertained the notion, for some time, that the genders of nouns might be distinctly marked by means of these particles *kazi* and *duna*; but, on finding that those nouns which assume the former may be often followed by the latter in the shape of a regular adjective, the hope of being able to mark the genders passed away.

"Many nouns by affixing *kazana*, which seems to be *kazi* with the diminishing particle *na*, signify an indefinite number of one kind of things in a place, as : *imbiza*, pot, *imbizakazana*; *inkomo*, cattle, *inkomokazana*; *ihashe*, horse, *ihashekazana*; *incwadi*, book, *incwadikazana*."

We should like to know if this use of *kazana* is still a feature of the language; it has no place in our current grammars.

A Generic Prefix

"Many nouns drop their initial vowel or syllable, and, prefixing *isi*, assume a generic form, as :—*igusha*, a sheep; *isigusha*, sheep; *imiti*, trees, the trees; *isimiti*, trees; *umtu* [*umntu*] a person; pl. *abantu*, men; *isintu*, man. Note—*unyana wesintu*, the Son of man, a name by which the Saviour of the world has been pleased to designate himself, with most becoming propriety."

Formation of the Locative

"Nouns in the ablative [locative] form. 1. Nouns on assuming the ablative change their initial vowel into *e* and affix *ni*, as :—*ihlati*, *ehlatini*; *amanzi*, *emanzini*; *amatye*, *ematyeni*; *ubume*, *ebumeni*. But some nouns in *u*, on assuming the ablative form, insert the particle *lu* between themselves and their converted initial vowel, as :—*ufefe*, *elufefeni*; *udongwe*, *eludongweni*.

"2. Nouns, on assuming the ablative form, change their initial vowel into *e*, and, if their terminating vowel be *a*, they change it also into *e* and affix *ni*, as :—*intaba*, *entabeni*; *umhlaba*, *emhlabeni*; *ukuqala*, *ekuqaleni*; *utshaba*, *elutshabeni*; *udada*, *eludadeni*; *udimba*, *eludimbeni*; *udonga*, *eludongeni*.

"3. Nouns which terminate in *o* change that vowel into *we* on assuming the ablative form, as :—*umlilo*, *emlikweni*; *ukuko*, *elukukweni*; *utango*, *elutangweni*; *upondo*, *elupondweni*; *unyawo*, *elunyawweni*. Exceptions,—*inkomo*, *enkomeni*; *ingubo*, *engutyeni*.

"4. Nouns which terminate in *u* change that vowel into *wi* on assuming the ablative form, as :—*umlungu*, a European ; *emlungwini*, in the colony ; *uluhlu*, *eluhlwini*.

"5. Nouns whose last consonant is preceded by *m* of the penultimate, change the *b* or *p* into *dzh* [*j*] and the *m* into *n*, on assuming the ablative form, as : *umtombo*, *emtondzheni* ; *abatembu*, *ebatendzheni*, among the 'Tembookies, in 'Tembookia ; *umlambo*, *emlandzheni* ; *ipempe*, *epentsheni* ; *izembe*, *ezendzheni*.

"6. Nouns in *ili* drop *li* on assuming the ablative form, as :—*ilizwe*, *ezweni* ; *ilitye*, *etyeni* ; *ilivi*, *evini* ; *ilizwi*, *ezwini* ; *iliwa*, *eweni* ; *ilifu*, *efini*."

Nouns with the quality of adjectives

"Some nouns possess also the quality of the adjective, as :—*isidenge*, *isityebi*, *isitulu*, *isipetu*, *isibiba*, *isikunkum*, *isikohlo*, *isikuncne*."

Concerning the Adjective

"When the adjective is, for example, coupled with the substantive verb, it has the initial syllable *i*, *im* or *in*, as :—*ibukali*, sharp ; *ibutataka*, soft ; *infutshane*, short ; *imnyama*, dark ; *inzima*, heavy ; *inzulu*, deep.

"The adjective readily changes its initial syllable and agrees with the noun." Bennie then arranges his examples under eleven groups, from which we make a selection. "1. *ihash' elikulu*, *izemb' elibutuntu*. 2. *into enzima*, *intab' ende*. 3. *umti omde*, *umhlaba olukuni*. 4. *ukukanya okukulu*. 5. *imit' imide*. 6. *ufefe olusisulu*, *ufafana olulunga*. 7. *amanz' ashushu*. 8. *inkomo ezintle*. 9. *ubom' obufutshane*. 10. *isiqamo esimma-ndi*. 11. *abantu 'batsha*.

"Nouns, having the relative pronoun and substantive verb with a preposition prefixed, are sometimes used instead of the adjective, as :—*um'i onameva*, a thorny shrub ; *u-Tixo onofefe*, gracious God ; *umvosa onobuhlobo*, a friendly Kaffer.

"Another class of adjectives may be denominated the verbal class, as :—*lungile*, ready ; *qelile*, accustomed ; *pilile*, well ; *pelile*, done ; *lumbile*, hungry ; *file*, dying ; *lulamile*, humble. But this class does not assume the initial particles and conform to the noun as does the common adjective. They prefix the substantive verb only, as :—*kulungile*, it is good ; *ulungile-na* ? are you ready ? *bapilile*, they are well.

"A class of adjectives which may be denominated the participial class and which are in part derived from the foregoing, conform to the noun, as :—*lungileyo*, good ; *-pilileyo*, living ; *-fileyo*, dying ; *-lulamileyo*, humble ; *into efileyo*, a dying creature."

Cardinal Numbers

“ If the Natives wish to signify the number 2, they hold up the little finger and the one next it ; if 5, they hold up all the fingers of one hand : but if they wish to signify the number 7, they hold up the thumb and index finger only of one ; if 9, they hold up the thumb and the three arge fingers, and bend the little one ; hence for 9 they often say *itobamnwimnye*—*toba*, to bend, *umzwi* finger, *'mnye* one. They signify *tens* in the same way.

“ The Natives use the word *ilinci* to denote 10, instead of *ishumi*, when they have got beyond the *ikulu*, or a ten for every finger.”

Comparison

“ Many nouns and some adjectives, as has been already noted, assume certain degrees of comparison by means of affixed particles : but adjectives are also often compared by means of adverbs ; as, *inkulu kancinane*, it is somewhat large ; *inkulu kakulu*, it is very large ; *inkulu kunene*, it is truly large ; *inkulu kanye*, it is singularly large.

“ Sometimes the adverbs are doubled or repeated ; as, *inzima kakulu kunene*, it is truly exceedingly heavy ; *inzima kakulu kanye*, it is indeed remarkably heavy ; *ulungile kanye kanye*, he is very very good.

“ Sometimes a degree of comparison is expressed by means of emphasis. Another degree is brought out by means of emphasis accompanied by gesticulation, as when the Natives asking or refusing a very small thing say *intwan' encinane*, they rest once, twice or even thrice longer on the penultimate of *encinane* than usual ; at same time, moving slowly the right hand, the index finger being pointed, the head gently declining, the eyebrows contracted, the eyes half-shut, and sometimes the right eye shut.

“ The comparative degree is often expressed by means of the preposition *k* or *ku* to ; as *umkulu kum*, you are great to me, i.e. you are greater than I am ; *umkulu kakulu kum*, you are greatly great to me ; i.e. you are indeed greatly superior to me ; *umkulu kanye*, thou art very great ; *umkulu kakulu kanye kum*, you are very much superior to me ; *le inkulu kuleyo*, this is large to that ; *le inkulu kakulu kuleyo*, this is much large to that ; *le inkulu kakulu kanye kuleyo*, this is very much large to that

“ Sometimes the preposition is dropped and the comparative degree is thus expressed ; *inyanga incinane elangeni*, the moon is less than the sun ; *usiba lulula emkontweni*, a feather is lighter than a spear ; *inthlovu inkulu engonyameni*, an elephant is larger than a lion.

“ The superlative degree is thus expressed ; as, 1. *Yipin' indod' e-*

nkulu? Where is the great man? i.e. Where is the master of a village, for instance, who has no fellow in authority there? *Ubengubanina umf' omdala*? Who was the old man? i.e. Who was the oldest man, or, the most aged among men? *Indoda enamanthla ebengubani*? Who was the man who is with strength? i.e. Who was the strongest man, or, the man who had no fellow in strength among men?

2. *Umkulu wena kwizinto zonke*, thou art great to every being, i.e. every being is inferior to thee. *Ukozo oluncinane kwezinye inkozo zonke*, a grain which is the smallest of all grains?"

Articles

"The Kaffer Language does not possess the articles; or rather, it does not possess particles which might be denominated such. This deficiency is however only apparent, for should the exact signification of nouns not be understood on account of such deficiency, it is expressed by other means with sufficient clearness; as when it is said or written *usumlandzheni*, he is at or in river, all may understand that he is at the river; or, that he is in the bed of the river, near to which those are who are enquiring for him. Had he gone to another stream, its name would be expressed; as *usexesi*, *usetyume*, he is at or on the Xesi, he is at or on the Tyume.

"*Difun'ilitye*, I seek stone; all hearing a person say so understand that, tho' seeking, it may be, a stone of a certain size or shape, he is not seeking the particular stone which he had previously seen, or which he had been directed to seek. But should he be seeking such a stone, he says, *difun' elotye*, I seek that stone, i.e. the stone in question; or he describes the stone he wants; or he states the purpose for which it is wanted.

"*Amanz' apina, apin' amanzi*? Where is water? also, Where is the water, i.e. the water in possession or sought for.

"*Gen' enthlwini*, enter house; i.e. enter the house already sufficiently well known or described."

The remaining sections deal with the Substantive Pronouns *mina* (*m'na, muna*), *wena, yena*, etc., at considerable length; the Substantive Verb, Present Indicative *di*, I am; negative *andi*: Second Present *ndim* 'tis I; negative *asindim*; Imperfect *dibe*, I was; negative *bendinga*; Second Imperfect *bendi*, was I; negative *bendingu*; Third Imperfect *ditendi* I was I; negative *ndibendinga*; and in conclusion a close grapple with the intricacies of the Verb.

Bennie's Kafir-English Dictionary

In addition to the *Systematic Vocabulary* printed in 1826, here exists in MS. "A Dictionary in Kafferse and English" by John Bennie,

which was presented by him to Rev. John Ross, the founder of Pirie Mission, and which is now in the keeping of Mr. W. G. Bennie.

Having up till the end of 1926 handled only the MS. Dictionary, I had taken for granted that the 1826 printed *Vocabulary* was an extension of the MS. copy, and that the two were identical where they covered common ground. On 3rd January, 1927, however, there came into my hands, through the extreme generosity of Rev. W. M. Crampton, a large fragment of the printed *Vocabulary*, containing pages 5-60, the perusal of which has enabled me to correct my erroneous belief. The printed *Vocabulary* may be called the first edition; the MS. *Dictionary* is the preparation for a second edition. In the MS. *Dictionary* the definitions have been carefully revised and new words have been added; for the nasalised *x* a new symbol *ẓ*, or *x* with the Greek rough breathing over it, takes the place of *nx*.

The MS. Dictionary contains two pages of Directions, the third of which reads,—“when looking up words, it is required that the alphabetical arrangement of the consonants be kept in view. They are thus arranged *b p d t g k v f z s h l m n w y c q x r j*, and the vowels thus *a e i o u*.” Bennie’s intention was to complete his vocabulary in this phonetic order, but his plan was only partially carried through. As the MS. stands, it contains 36 pages for B, 19 for P, 28 for D (which includes J, phonetically rendered by Bennie as Dzh), and 2 for T, the last word being *in-Taka*. I gather from Bleek’s Catalogue of Sir George Grey’s Library that the “*Systematic Vocabulary*” printed in 1826 goes farther than this, containing as it does the rest of T (with *Ts*, *Tsh*, *Thl*, *Ty*), G, K (as far as *i-Kwange*). Bennie’s collections of Kafir words must have contained much material beyond this, but nothing is known regarding the fate of his remaining MS. sheets of words.

How solid was the foundation laid by Bennie may be gathered from the fact that over 1200 of his words, under the letters B, P and D (including Dzh) are incorporated in the 2nd Edition of Kropf’s Dictionary. Bennie’s most interesting entry is “*Bayasi, Bayali, Bayam, Bayani, Bayandi, Bayawa, Bayayi*. Verbal prefixes, each denoting the 3rd pers. pl. of a present tense, also the object or objects of the verb.” This entry indicates how near he was to the discovery of the Euphonic Concord.

Under the words “*um-Dyode*, a Jew, a Hebrew” occurs the following valuable historical note, not taken over by Kropf,—“when Gqika and a number of his people professed to receive the truth published among them by the late revered Missionary Williams, they were accused by Thlambe and others of having become Jews and thus infecting the Kaffir

nation with the crime committed by the Jew who murdered the Son of God."

Kropf's reference, in his Preface, to Bennie's work runs as follows:—"A small but trustworthy vocabulary, partly printed and partly in manuscript, compiled by the Rev. John Bennie in 1830, came into my hands. This contained only words whose stems commenced with the letters *b*, [appearing, by a printer's error, as *c*] *p*, *d*, *t*."

A collation of the printed *Vocabulary* and the MS. *Dictionary* with Kropf shews that the MS. was the one used by Kropf, and that practically all Bennie's words and definitions therein were taken over by Kropf. My collation of the portion of Bennie's 1826 *Vocabulary* received from Mr. Crampton convinces me that this printed *Vocabulary* was either not accessible to Kropf, or else discarded in favour of the MS. *Dictionary*. Had Kropf had the 1826 *Vocabulary* before him, he would not, I feel sure, have omitted twenty place-names, besides other words and a number of pat definitions given by Bennie under the letter *t*. Yet the few definitions in Kropf, as *i-Tshatsha*, which clearly indicate that they were taken directly or indirectly from the *Vocabulary*, raise a problem to which I can only direct attention without attempting to solve it. Was there another 'partly printed' vocabulary which has escaped the notice of Kafir bibliographers?

It seems to have been John Bennie's intention in his MS. *Dictionary* to prepare a second and more complete edition of his *Vocabulary*, but his MS. does not go so far as his printed volume went.

My perusal of the fragment of the 1826 printed vocabulary has strengthened my conviction that no worker in Kafir who wishes to understand how our knowledge of the language has grown can afford to neglect the scholarly work of John Bennie. While expressing my thanks to Mr. Crampton for his unique gift, I would appeal to any reader who is the fortunate possessor of the whole 92 pages of Bennie's 1826 vocabulary to let me have for one week the use of it to collate his words under *g* and *k*.

John Bennie's English-Kafir Dictionary

In 1931 there came to light fragments of another MS. work by John Bennie, which, through the courtesy of Mr. W. G. Bennie, I have been allowed to collate. The portion of MS. discovered, consisting of 88 pages, has suffered in the course of time; some pages have been sadly frayed by the ravages of fish-moths and one page in particular has been greatly marred from exposure to weather; but only one word, as far as we see, has baffled decipherment through these occurrences. The portion available to us covers the vocabulary from Measure to Zephyr, and has

been transcribed in duplicate by Miss N. Stormont ; one copy of the transcription is in our hands and the other has been given to Mr. W. G. Bennie.

1304 words are defined with an accuracy which makes this dictionary specially valuable to-day. The orthography adopted by John Bennie follows a definite phonetic system, which, while varying in a number of respects from that in use to-day, is consistently uniform and easily recognisable. As far as can be determined by an examination of the words, this dictionary has not been utilised by any subsequent lexicographers.

Among the outstanding words defined is the word *wizard*—*itshokotsho*, *igududu*. This *igududu* seems to us to be the same word as that used in some parts of the country for the Ground Hornbill, known generally as *intsikizi*, and is an attempt to render the cry of that bird. The actual name given to the *intsikizi* is *ingududu*, but John Bennie is in the habit of omitting *n* before *g* (as for example ; *gapo*, *gapanthle*).*

An appeal is made to the other heirs of John Bennie to examine their heirlooms with a view to the possible discovery of the first half of the MS, so that even at this late date the portions of the Vocabulary that have been so long separated may be brought together again.

Other Literary Activities

John Bennie's literary activities bore fruit in other directions. From the Presbytery record of February 9, 1824, we learn that *The First Elementary Book* in Kafir had been finished, and that a copy was to be given to each family. This work was the joint production of Brownlee, Thomson, Bennie and Ross. Apparently a spelling-book published in 1829 was Bennie's own, but I do not know if there is any copy of it now in existence. The First Kafir Reader and the Second Kafir Reader, published in 1839, were Bennie's work.

In quite another line Bennie appears, as an *outstanding Hymn-writer*. His hymn-writing dates at least from 1826, as 65 copies of five of his hymns were printed off then ; he continued to produce hymns at a surprising rate, and 51 of his hymns are found in the "*Incwadi yamaculo ase-Rube*" in use to-day. When we add that Bennie took his share in Bible-translation, we have surely produced sufficient evidence to justify the Gaika Commissioner's name for this industrious student,—"*The Father of Kafir Literature.*"

* [Does not John Bennie omit *n* before *g* and *d* only when it appears initially in the word ? This was the practise of Boyce. But he would not omit it after a vowel. Ed.]

BRIDE-WEALTH IN BALOBEDU MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

By J. D. KRIGE,

INTRODUCTION

Bride-wealth, or *monoalo*, which is the equivalent of the Zulu *lobola*, consists, among the Balobedu of the Northern Transvaal, of a number of cattle and other gifts which pass from the group of the boy to that of the girl. Not only does it constitute part of a complicated series of transactions extending in many cases over a period exceeding ten years, but each item, every head of cattle or other beast, every gift or article that passes, has a specific name and in some way contributes towards the marriage. So inseparably are these transactions associated with ceremonies on the one hand and the passing of each individual item of the bride-wealth on the other, that the full significance of *monoalo* cannot be apprehended except in relation to the whole marriage ceremonial.

While, therefore, it becomes necessary to give an account of the ceremonial in which the setting of the various articles of the bride-wealth might be indicated, we shall have to ignore many interesting irregularities in, or embellishments of, the essential features. Only occasionally can we stop to consider the extraordinary reactions that civilised or Christian conceptions have had, our main object being to present a picture of the ceremonies at a time less subject to these disintegrating influences, and to leave on one side numerous divergencies brought about by contact with neighbouring tribes—Venda, Thonga, Pedi and others.

We must allow ourselves two further introductory observations. On the one hand the passage of the gifts and the ritual acts constituting the marriage ceremonies are so inextricably interwoven that an analysis into definite stages gives a somewhat artificial conception of their unitary nature. On the other hand, again, although there is universal agreement that the number of items constituting *monoalo*, strictly speaking, is seven—incidentally a tabooed number—there is no general consensus of opinion as to which beasts are to be included in this category. As regards the first observation, it will be noticed in the sequel that imperceptible stages are passed through, the transactions advancing gradually, though perhaps not simultaneously all along the line, from avoidance between the groups, through ritual compensation for the loss of the girl, to her severance from

her group and partial incorporation into another, culminating in the final transition to the married state. As regards the second observation, there does not seem to be any functional differentiation between the *monoalo*, strictly speaking, and the other gifts—*merero* (things that have to be given according to custom). Indeed the word *monoalo* is most frequently used to cover all the gifts that pass. According to a maxim, frequently quoted in law suits, "the bridegroom (*tsetse*) never gives; whatever he gives is part of the *monoalo*," so that every item, gift, beast, and so on, that passes, must on the dissolution of the marriage be returned. To avoid confusion we shall use the word *monoalo* in the strict sense, and the word bride-wealth as covering the wider meaning.

THE BETROTHAL

In normal cases the proceedings are initiated by the boy's (*tsetse*'s) group. This is a cautious and lengthy process, usually involving an informal stage chiefly concerned with overtures, selection of a suitable group, intimation by the boy to his father of his desire to seek a partner and the formal initiation of the proceedings by the appointment by the *tsetse*'s lineage of an intermediary, the *maditsela*, one who knows the way or arranges matters. As all subsequent communications between the groups in question must be through this old man or woman, he or she should be unrelated to the parties, so as better to manipulate difficult situations, stand rebuffs, and relieve strained relations; tactful and diplomatic, so as to ensure suitable compromises and formulae being arrived at in the complicated series of actions and reactions; upright and respected, because on his evidence most reliance will be placed if a breach occurs at some future date. The services he has to perform indicate how delicate a matter the gradual drawing together of the parties is; they give us a glimpse of the obstacles to be overcome and the function the bride-wealth is to perform.

The informal overtures, which might have preceded the *maditsela*'s appointment, assume a more formal aspect when he is sent to the girl's kraal to intimate that an alliance is sought. The reply is invariably couched in ambiguous, if encouraging, language—the people are away, the lineage must be consulted, and so on. If, in fact, the alliance is approved, the girl is informed at a public gathering and the girl's *maditsela* is dispatched with the message that formal negotiations may commence. This message is transmitted through the boy's *maditsela* to the boy's father, who informs his lineage, and arrangements are made to inaugurate those conventional acts, including the handing over of the bride-wealth, which after some years culminate in the consummation of the marriage.

A visit must now be made by the boy or someone else representing him, preferably his elder sister, in order that the formal betrothal might be publicly made. The transactions are, however, between the young people, as a ritual reserve has already set in between the adults of the two families. This reserve comes into operation between the young couple as soon as the exchange of betrothal gifts (*matsoara*), usually beads of trifling value, has taken place in the presence of the girl's companions. Immediately before, the boy and the girl, especially if they were cross-cousins, who are preferred mates, were on intimate, even licentious, terms with each other; but thereafter their behaviour towards one another is one of almost absolute avoidance. They may no longer see each other, perhaps for the next five or ten years. A great gulf has opened between the two individuals concerned as well as between the families. It should, however, be emphasised that this gulf is evidenced not by any hostile state of mind—the Native will inform you that feelings of friendliness have set in and continue—but by the ritual avoidances and social behaviour that one can observe in fact.

PRELIMINARY GIFTS

In discussing these and the other gifts constituting the bride-wealth, we have to remember that their chronological order is not rigidly fixed, although each gift is clearly defined by custom. At no stage is there any bargaining concerning their number, or enquiry as to the resources of the boy's family. Nor is there any express or tacit preliminary agreement. It is, however, the right of the girl's father, from time to time and with due regard to the requirements of custom, to ask for the delivery of such and such a gift or beast. If there are inordinate delays, he might—as is common to-day where the old protracted procedure is not understood—intimate his impatience by the message: "We want to eat." Indeed it is incumbent upon the *tsetse*'s people to deliver these beasts, as each of them takes the marriage transactions one stage further. Without the delivery of a particular gift or beast no progress can be made. Now-a-days a number of these gifts is often lumped together and given in a single cash payment, which may or may not be stated to represent certain specific animals. Even in these cases there is hardly any evidence of the idea that a price is being paid for the girl. The transaction is still "*ho noala*" and not "*ho reka*" (to buy), the money is *monoalo* (goods for marriage) and not bride-price, and there is no relation between the economic value of the girl and the money payment. In all cases, moreover, a *monoalo* marriage secures to a wife a proper status and better treatment than if she were a concubine (*motabo*) or cohabits with a man (*mogahola*).

The first gifts after the betrothal ceremony are usually two goats (*melume ya 'ma motho*) which are required in order to "open the mouth" of the girls' parents. For the first step towards bridging the gulf between the families must be for the purpose of making negotiations possible. But, in addition, the girl must be given something, the *ditevela ya munyana* (medicine for the girl). The name of this goat would indicate that she was entering upon a dangerous period, but my informants could not say that there existed any relation between the gift and the girl's health. They stated that it was a symbolic name and that was all. In fact this goat and the two to open the parents' mouths are no longer well known, having, it seems, coalesced with the next goat to pass—the *thari* or *pudi ya hobebya* (goat of the skin in which the babe is carried).

By this time, in normal circumstances, two series of events will commence. On the one hand the *tsetse* will be making his first formal visit to the girl's village in order to establish good relations with the girl's people, and on the other the *tsetse's maditsela* will be delivering the *monoalo*. These transactions run more or less parallel with one another, except in the case of infant betrothal when the delivery of the *monoalo* might be completed before the *tsetse's* first visit; in fact the cattle may already have been used by the girl's father to obtain a husband for her brother.

The *tsetse*, then, accompanied by a close friend, the *makate*, and by the *maditsela*, takes with him the *ho modisa* (or *ho tlisa*), a goat, now-a-days 10/-, which is "to bring him to the girl's parents." This is very necessary because it is taboo for him to go into the girl's village, and on his visits he must sleep in his future mother-in-law's hut. Having removed this barrier and secured his introduction, he has still to remove the obstacle that keeps him and the young people of the village apart. Here another goat, now-a-days 10/-, is required. As yet he may not see the prospective bride and his behaviour to the adults of the village is one of humility, caution and deference. He will not dare to speak to his prospective parents-in-law.

Whilst the *tsetse* is gradually establishing personal contact with the girl's people, the *maditsela* is marking on a stick the various beasts that he delivers. It may be that he has delivered the first few *monoalo* cattle already, but now-a-days, at all events, it is the *thari*—which is to provide a feast for the girl's people—that goes first. In the old days this was an ox, not a goat, and unlike most of the other beasts passing, it had to be slaughtered. The slaughtering had, however, to be delayed until the *mpaka* (knife) was handed over; and for this reason the *mpaka* was

generally sent at an early stage, while the *thari* seems more properly to belong to a stage arrived at after the delivery of the first four head of *monoalo* cattle. Such, indeed, was the opinion of the oldest men. Once the *mpaka* is delivered, the taboo against killing any marriage beasts has been removed, the ownership in the animals in the girl's parents' hands passes and the feast on the flesh of the *thari* is announced. At this feast both the girl's family and the *tsetse's maditsela* must be present, the two groups, the one actually, the other vicariously, participating. The *maditsela*, though not of the girl's family, is assigned a portion of the beast, viz. the front leg, which normally would go to a younger brother. While the skin of the *thari* is not used, as its name might imply, for the babe of the future marriage, the beast may be regarded as a step towards building up the disturbed relations between the families.

When the *thari* has been delivered, the boy's *maditsela* is requested to bring the *metsoa* (strings to tie the skin). Usually the *mestoa* are represented by two goats, in the past two hoes, but there might be one or more than two. In many cases, where custom is in an advanced state of disintegration, both the *thari* and the *metsoa* are given by way of a money payment, sometimes not even specifically as such; for they may not be specially requested or expected where a sufficiently large money payment is tendered by way of the lump sum that passes as the *musubullu*.

COMPENSATORY TRANSACTIONS

The group of transactions, that generally start at this stage and continue while the *tsetse* is paying his visits, involve the passing of the majority of bride-wealth gifts. Many of these gifts are sent simultaneously, but nothing turns upon the order or manner of their being delivered. Now-a-days at least four of them are required to pass before the marriage can be completed, but in the past there was no latitude—every beast fulfilled, it would seem, some particular purpose and advanced the proceedings one stage further.

According to my most authoritative source of information, it appears that the following seven beasts were considered to constitute the *monoalo* strictly so-called: *tsoede ya khorone* (cow and calf of the *khoro*), *keepe ka khoro* (axe of the *khoro*), *mebofo ya tjona* (string to tie the cow's legs), *mpaka ya tjona* (knife of the cattle), *motela* (manure of the cattle) or *tabe la dikhomo* (herd of cattle), and *keho ka metse* (calabash of water). Most often the *tsoede ya moshene* (cow and calf of the mother's hut), and the *ketudo* were counted as falling in this category, the *mpaka* and *keho ka metse* being then excluded, and the *motela* unknown. The best known

and most generally delivered cattle were the *tsoede moshene* and the *tsoede ya khorone* which, according to modern ideas, constitute the absolute minimum. Usually, also, it is expected that the two *tsoede*'s, the *keepe ka khorone*, and the *ketudo* should be delivered at the same time. Finally, in the old days three further beasts, to be mentioned later, were often, but not necessarily, required to "fill up the *monoalo*."

It is not difficult to perceive that these gifts in the aggregate are in the nature of compensation to the girl's parents for the loss of their daughter. But it should be noted that the usual differentiation drawn between bride-wealth and the other gifts of marriage, that the former is liable to be returned on dissolution of the marriage, while the latter are not, does not obtain. The Natives themselves say that the *monoalo* cattle are what is given for the girl as such. Their names are associated more particularly with the kraal—its cattle, its courtyard—as if they take the place of the girl who is about to leave. A brief analysis of each of these gifts seems to bear out this inference.

First there is the *tsoede ya moshene*, which is sometimes regarded as a special beast falling into a category of its own. It must be a cow and a heifer and its special significance is partly indicated by its name—for these cattle are for the girl's mother and remain her special property. In a sense all the bride-wealth are held in trust for the hut from which the girl comes, and are inherited by the heir of that hut. But the *tsoede ya moshene* is rather the mother's own property, and, on her death, it devolves not upon the heir of her hut, but upon her last born child; or, if she has none, it will go not to her husband's, but to her lineage. Some other peculiar incidents attach to these beasts of the mother's hut; for while they must, like every article that passes, be returned on dissolution of the marriage or breach of the betrothal, they can be demanded back by the *tsetse*'s people if the girl proves not to be a virgin. In that case her disgrace is made more public still by reason of the fact that she must personally drive back the cow and its heifer. Further, this gift is stated to be in recognition of the mother's care of her daughter's upbringing, for she is held primarily responsible for her daughter's virginity. Incidentally we may mention that there is a marked reaction among modern young men and women against the practice of examining the girl to discover whether or not her hymen is intact; and this has considerably detracted from the special significance of the *tsoede ya moshene*, which is no longer returned if the girl has been deflowered.

Together with the *tsoede ya moshene*, must be considered the *ketudo* ox, sometimes but not always reckoned among the *monoalo* strictly speak-

ing. It is apparently inseparably associated with the *tsoede ya moshene*, with which it had to be delivered. Now-a-days its delivery is often delayed to a later stage. This ox is also specially given to the girl's mother but for the specific purpose of being slaughtered, in order not merely to provide her with food, but also to arrange a feast. At this feast the boy's family are not in any way represented, but the girl's mother calls members of both her own and her husband's lineage to participate, the latter being given the hind leg only. Now-a-days she may sell the meat and from the proceeds buy mealies.

But it is not the mother only who has brought up the bride-to-be. We find, therefore, that the father, in recognition of his services, so the Natives say, must be rewarded by the *tsoede ya khorone*. This is a cow and a bullcalf, but they do not belong absolutely to the father as might be thought, for he holds them, like all the other beasts, in trust for the hut of the girl. That hut will be entitled to claim this and the other beasts, generally for its maintenance and specifically for the brother of the girl who may require them to obtain a wife for himself. The fact that this gift is spoken of as being specially for the girl's father, whereas it is not really his to do with what he likes, indicates that we are concerned here not with compensation to him, but with a ritual restoration of the disturbed equilibrium as far as he is concerned.

In this restoration, however, it would seem that the girl's whole kraal is in some way concerned. This would explain why we find among the *monoalo*, on the one hand the "axe of the *khoro*" (*keepe ka khoro*) and, on the other, the "string with which to tie the cow's legs" (*mebofo ya disadi* or *ya tjona*) and "the manure of the cattle" (*motela*) or "herd of cattle" (*tabe la dikhomo*). The last two, both cows, are practically unknown to-day and, apart from the fact that the *mebofo* is sent in consequence of a request to provide a string for the cattle, so that they might be milked, and that they are necessary to make the cattle kraal complete, I could obtain no further information concerning them. The "axe of the *khoro*," now sometimes called the "branch of the kraal" (*tagu la tjona*), on the other hand, symbolically refers, the Natives say, to the instrument or materials with which the kraal is built. Moreover, as soon as the "axe" (or the "branch") has been pointed out to the girl's *maditsela*, the two *tsoede*'s may be delivered. The *keepe* would, therefore, seem to remove some taboo preventing the compensation to the girl's parents. The Natives themselves expressed the view that it was impossible to accept cattle before a kraal had been built, symbolically of course.

Apart from these beasts we should also specially mention the *mpaka ya tjona* (knife of the cattle). This gift used to be a goat, but now-a-days

is often a cow and might be represented by 10/-. It should really be delivered before any of the *monoalo* beasts, because it removes the taboo against killing and eating, by the girl's family, of any of the livestock passing as bride-wealth. Now-a-days its delivery might be delayed until one of the animals is about to die. If this happens before the delivery of the *mpaka*, the boy's family must be informed, as they and no one else may then eat it. In that case the dead animal must be replaced and the *mpaka* immediately delivered. It might also be noted that, after the delivery of the *mpaka*, the ownership in the cattle passing immediately vests in the girl's family, whereas prior to this, these cattle are still regarded as belonging to the boy's family. It follows that increases accrue to and losses fall on the one or the other party according as the *mpaka* has or has not been delivered. The *mpaka*, though often not regarded as one of the *monoalo* beasts, is closely associated with them, and is essential to make their transference effective.

As gifts which seem specifically of a compensatory nature we might also mention the *tupa la tjona* (stick of the cattle). This beast does not, it would seem, belong to true Balobedu marriage ceremonies. It is, however, very common to-day and is said to make the cattle enter the new kraal ; but it would be asked for only when the cattle are being used by the prospective bride's brother to acquire a wife. The *lefepo* or *tebogo* goat (thanking the girl's parents for consenting to the marriage) is also sometimes mentioned, but like some others would appear to be foreign to the old ceremony.

TRANSACTIONS THAT FURTHER CEMENT THE ALLIANCE

While these *monoalo* cattle are passing, the *tsetse* is busily engaged in furthering the good relations between himself and the inmates of the girl's village. He has to pay numerous visits, which are at first not associated with the passing of any gifts. These visits are not directly concerned with courting the girl, for no communication is as yet permitted with her. The *tsetse* is, however, royally entertained especially by the girl's companions, a troop of girls (*dipelehetse*) collected for the purpose. This hospitality he reciprocates by an attitude of deference and humility. He even requires a constant companion, the *makate*, who serves as a link between him and the girl's people. In addition to his formal aloofness, the *tsetse* has to observe a number of taboos. While his behaviour does not directly concern us in this account, we might mention that he may not drink water, or sit outside the yard of the girl's hut, except when his special mat has been placed there, or address his future parents-in-law ;

in a word, he may never behave too freely in any way—whistling in the village, unrestrained laughter, unruliness in games, free entry into his sleeping quarters, absence for too long from the village and many other things are forbidden to him. On the other hand the girls may not enter his hut except on their knees, or leave him alone at night, or fail to cook his porridge before sunset.

As far as the prospective bride is concerned, the *tsetse* must keep his distance, and she will always have her face covered during his visits. Sometimes he will make bracelets and send them as informal presents to the girl, who might hand some of them over to the *mamatoana* (the leader of the troop of girls in attendance), but it is significant of the gulf that still separates the couple that, should he make her a skin, she will not be able to wear it until the *mamatoana* has used it for at least a day and a night.

These visits extend over many years and serve gradually to break down the caution and restraint between the parties. It appears that a stage is reached when the *tsetse* might be permitted to see the girl for a brief interval. But such an interview could only be arranged through an old woman, and, in her presence, after the *tsetse* had given the girl a bead to enter the hut and another to "open the mouth," a short conversation was allowed. Still later the restraint between the couple is further broken down by the presentation of the *musubullu*. This used to be a present of a cow, sometimes merely beads, and was said to be for a change of clothing for the prospective bride. It belonged to her, but would not be given if she was not a virgin. If, under the mistaken belief that she still was a virgin, the *tsetse* delivered this gift, he could reclaim it as soon as he discovered the true facts. Now-a-days a sum of £5 or £6 is offered, but, as young men object to the examination of the girl, the function of this gift is very different to-day. In ancient custom it might be regarded as a reward for her virginity. To-day, when it often represents the total payment, apart from some cattle, it still retains great importance. A girl might buy herself a dress with it or, if she is generous, give her sister or mother some presents. In usual circumstances a cow is delivered and the old custom of leaving it with her parents in trust for the girl is still maintained. She might later request her parents to sell it. This gift, moreover, marks the time from which the couple are allowed to see each other or, rather, the avoidance is no longer absolute, for formal interviews are permitted; her mouth need not be opened for each interview and she does not go about with her face wholly covered. Hitherto the boy on his visits slept with the girl's companions; but now she is permitted to spend the night in the same hut, sexual intercourse being, however, strictly forbidden and heavily penalised.

The *musubullu* is looked upon askance by Christians owing to its sinister association with the girl's virginity ; but a lump sum of about £6 is paid to cover various presents including this one, so as to enable the boy and the girl to " see " one another. It is, in fact, more and more being looked upon as the " price " of gaining free access to the girl or of " opening her mouth."

The last visit of the boy is normally preceded by the *keho ka metse* (calabash of water) whereby the boy intimates that he now desires to get married. This is usually enumerated as the last *monoalo* head of cattle. Originally it was an ox, now a goat, delivered in order to enable the *tsetse* to go on his *kela* visit. The delivery of the *keho ka metse* is really a request by the *tsetse* that matters should be expedited, as he is impatient that she should come and draw water for him. Custom demands, however, that she should ignore this formal request ; for, if she offends the proprieties by decamping with the boy, his family will have to make amends by means of the *nyakelane moni*, the goat informing the girl's parents of her whereabouts. Such behaviour might lead to serious complications, engendering bad feeling and undoing the laborious efforts of so many years. The bride-to-be must, therefore, remain unmoved by the *keho ka metse*. And now the *tsetse* and the *makate* set out, fully equipped for a long visit, to *kela* the girl, saying " we are going to trouble them." Now-a-days, when the girl's reluctance to leave her people is not understood and often interpreted as a device to exact a few more presents, the argument by the young man that his employer in some town wants him back within a month might prevail. In the past more cogent inducements were required and the *tsetse* really had to " make trouble," various devices being used. If persuasion was ineffective, the *tsetse* and the *makate* became distinctly disagreeable. They might watch the girl cook and put sticks in the food. The girl's parents would also suffer and object to being provided with dirty food, and say that she had better go. There is a good deal of other interference with the girl and her companions, who would hardly have any peace at all.

Here we should also mention the *pudi ya kebolao* (goat of killing) which is brought by the *maditsela* on the boy's contemplated last visit or sometimes earlier. As the name signifies, it is killed and the meat is for the girl's family and more especially the girl herself, the *tsetse* joining in and getting the leg. The skin is to be prepared by the *tsetse* for the *tebyana*, or covering for the seat of the girl. She must wear it when she leaves for the *tsetse*'s home and thereafter until her first baby arrives, when it is replaced by the *musha* made by her husband. The *thoto*, or front triangular covering of the girl, is also prepared at about this time ; but this

skin (now-a-days a cloth) has no connection with any of the beasts passing between the families.

Some three further beasts, quite unknown to-day and not apparently a necessary or even usual concomitant of marriage ceremonies, used to pass between rich families in the distant past. They seem to have been asked for only when the girl's people desired to slaughter a beast for the *tsetse*. Strangely enough the girl's mother initiates these gifts, calling the *tsetse* to participate in a feast at which an ox was to be killed. He is told to come and "eat a pumpkin." This beast has, however, to be replaced by the *tsetse's* people, who send the *kelao kapolo* (the cow which pays back); and, in addition, another (*dimadiveso*) cow or ox must be given to the prospective mother-in-law to cover the place where the first was slaughtered. These beasts are said, sometimes, to "fill up the *mo-noalo*."

SEVERANCE OF THE GIRL FROM HER GROUP

While the struggle to get the prospective bride and her companions to leave is proceeding on the *ho kela* visit, formal arrangements of great importance are being conducted with her parents. It is at the end of the *ho kela* visit, or perhaps immediately after, that two beasts or their equivalent have to be delivered. The first is the *takusa mosadi* (lifting the girl), in the old days two hoes, now, where known at all, a goat or equivalent animal. The purpose of this gift is to "lift" the girl from maiden to wife. The second, which was asked for immediately thereafter, is the *tomalomose* (from *tomalo*—to take out, and *mose*—a mealie stamper) usually a goat or now a days 10/-, but it could also be a cow if such was asked for. This gift is stated to be in consideration of the loss of service to the village occasioned by the girl's departure.

Having at last been induced to leave, the girls secretly and sadly collect the bride's belongings, prepare food for the long journey—for if the boy's village is near, a detour will be made—and set out during the night. The *tsetse* has meanwhile left the *kelapadene* (thing left under the mat) or *mosebe zwa khorone* (arrow of the *khoro*) under the mat he has been sleeping upon. It is found by the girl's *maditsela*, and handed to the bride's parents to explain the secret flight. In the old days it was an arrow-head, representing a kind of security or substitute for the hoe, which her parents could demand upon returning it. The *tsetse* might have left a hoe instead; and to-day 10/- is usual.

One of the most important articles taken by the girls to the *tsetse's* village is the *virginity calabash*. We are not here concerned with its

whole history, but it is worth mentioning that, if the old women of the *tsetse's* village find, on examination, that the bride's hymen is not intact, a hole is made in the calabash and the girl's family will have to provide beer to re-establish good relations

When the girls leave their village, the *makate* runs off ahead to inform the *tsetse's* people, as their services will soon be very necessary to induce the girls to continue the journey. For, as soon as they cross the boundary of their district, their progress towards the *tsetse's* village can only be effected by threats, persuasion, and gifts (*manosa*). On the journey the bride is surrounded by the girls, her face and body covered by a large blanket; and, protected from the gaze of strangers, she weeps at the sad prospect of becoming separated from her home and family. The journey, which starts at night, will end the following day at sunset. At first beads of trifling value, then necklaces and finally more and more valuable presents become necessary to induce the girls to move. As the *tsetse's* village is approached, presents of cloth will be forthcoming; women might hand over their babes, men their coats or other articles of clothing, as pledges for something substantial, and nearer the village food is offered. Just before the gate the last stand is made, and some large gift, perhaps a goat (the only *monosa* the girl retains for herself), finally induces the troop to enter.

FINAL GIFTS

A number of transactions, involving the last few gifts, now become necessary to effect the incorporation of the girl into the new family and to mark the transition from the single to the married state. In order not to diverge too much from our main purpose we shall merely touch upon a few of the more important incidents in these transactions.

First of all there is the *sebokaboka* ceremony. On arrival at the *tsetse's* village there is great rejoicing. The girls then perform a slow walk round and round the village, in imitation of the journey from their home. During this dumb show the girls weep, while the women of the village sing " *O Sebokaboka* " (let us go home), mocking the girls. The procession continues until a generous gift is offered. After two further songs to the girls, to the effect that the bride must not be careless in her wifely duties, the girls are induced to enter the *tsetse's* mother's hut in order to seek shelter from the rain—water having been poured onto the roof.

The visitors are treated with every hospitality, getting presents for everything they do for their hosts. Their work is to do all those things

that are required of a wife. They get up early and bring warm water to all the huts, obtaining some little gift in return. They fetch water from the river, collect firewood and cook. But the bride herself is absolutely secluded in the hut. It is time for her, as the Natives' say, to rest. The *tsetse* is usually absent from the village, perhaps on a visit for a month or two. We have here a period of separation and isolation, preceding the final incorporation into the boy's group and the transition to the married state.

These significant events of the first week at the *tsetse's* village terminate with the departure of the girl's companions, the bride alone remaining. A goat, the *keshebo* (porridge) goat, is killed for the visitors before they leave. The girls send the hind leg to the *tsetse's* father, and the other relatives of the *tsetse* also partake, while the cooking is done by the bridal party. The girls now smear themselves and the bride with red ochre and enter the hut, where the presents collected on the journey are distributed equally by the bride among them.

The bride's seclusion still continues. There is still a gulf between her and her future relatives-in-law. She may not speak to them, unless she is given a present; her husband may not approach her, and her actions and behaviour are carefully watched by the old women. One by one, however, her new relatives will "open her mouth;" although it appears that her father-in-law might delay doing so until her first child is born. This period, usually a few weeks or months, is terminated by her being returned to her parents together with the *pudi ya tjola bonoetsi* (the goat to pour out her present state, i.e. her state of being a bride). This goat represents the end of the days of her maidenhood and is a necessary prerequisite before sexual intercourse was permitted. In the old days a further beast, the *hafelegetsä* (meaning unknown) ox, was necessary to get the bride back. On her return she brings with her a great quantity of beer for her parents-in-law; and this beer is said to open a way for her mother to her new home; for without it she cannot pay visits to her daughter. When the bride returns, the bridegroom's parents kill an ox, the *ya ho tlabisa* (killed for the people who brought the beer), and a feast is held. Nowadays a goat called the *keshebo ka ba hamakalo* (meat for the porridge given to those who bring the beer) is killed for this purpose.

The marriage could, however, not yet be consummated, at least in the old days. The bridegroom's parents had to obtain permission by means of the *ho pela* goat. The *maditsela* drives the goat to the girl's village and tells her parents that the bridegroom now wants his wife. "By this goat," he says, "we let you know now that we are going to

build kraals with your daughter." The parents then have to recount to him all the details attending the bride's birth. It might be that there is something to be guarded against, something portending evil, for which suitable precautions might have to be taken.

Finally the *ho takanthsoa* (mixing ceremony) must be undergone. The doctor puts some medicine in a pot with water, stones are heated, incisions made on various parts of the couple and their blood mixed. They are then covered with a blanket just over the pot, into which the red hot stones are now cast. After a thorough steaming, beer is brought into which the boy and the girl must spit. This is stirred up and they have then to drink the beer. There are several variations of this ceremony, but essentially it entails the mixing of the blood of the two individuals and is intended to make them into one, and to remove the great danger of sexual intercourse. The *tsetse's* mother now tells the girl to go and spread a mat for her husband and the marriage is consummated.

APPENDIX

The following, taken from the note book of a *maditsela*, represents the money and beasts that were given as bride-wealth by a Christian Native, who is a teacher and fairly well educated. His brother acted as go-between (or *maditsela*).

£1 to thank the girl's parents for consenting to the marriage (*tebogo*).

£2 representing the *thari* (£1) and *matsoara* (£1).

£1 *metsoa*.

£1 for the girl's blanket.

£1 10s. for the girl's clothes.

£1 15s. for the girl's clothes.

5/- for her *duku* (head cloth).

4/- for her earrings.

2/6 *Manosa* (the girl had run away from the *tsetse's* brother, who was conducting the proceedings for him, and she would not talk to this brother until *nosa'd*).

£1 *Ho tlisa*.

£3 To girl's parents.

£1 *Kehò ka metse*.

£1 *Tomalomose*.

£1 *Kata mosha* (on entering the girl's hut, c.f. *ho modisa*).

£17 *Tebogo* or thanking. To obviate the name *monoalo*, this was given to "thank" the girl's parents and represents the bulk of the cattle.

1 goat, the *pudi ya tjola bonoetsi*.

1 cow and 3 calves representing *tsoede ya moshene* and *tsoede ya 'ma motho*.

Total £32 16s. 6d., 1 cow, 3 calves and 1 goat.

The whole took one and a half years, an unusually short time. The *tsetse* visited only three times on the occasions when the *matsoara* and *tlisa* gifts were made and just before marriage. All these particulars have been carefully noted in writing by the *tsetse's* brother.

(This is the third of a series of articles on the customs of the Balobedu. The previous articles were written by my wife—*Bantu Studies*, Vol. V, No. 3 and Vol. VI, No 4. I was able to accompany her on one of her visits to the tribe as a result of the generosity of the Bantu Studies Research Fund of the University of the Witwatersrand, which I desire gratefully to acknowledge.)

PLATE I



FIG. 1

Ovimbundu Hunter, Elende, West-Central Angola

(By Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.)



FIG. 2

Rock Tomb of a Hunter, Ganda, West-Central Angola

(By Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.)



FIG. 1

Trap for Leopards, Achokue Tribe, Cangamba, but used also by the Ovimbundu
(By courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.)



FIG. 2

Trophies of a Hunter, Ovimbundu Tribe, Elende
West-Central Angola.

(By Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.)



FIG. 3

Hunter's Dog with Clipped Ears
"To make him hear well"

HUNTING CUSTOMS OF THE OVIMBUNDU

By WILFRID DYSON HAMBLY

Assistant Curator, African Ethnology, Field Museum of Natural History,
Chicago

The following notes and photographs were made during the Frederick H. Rawson-Field Museum Expedition to West Africa, 1929-30 ; and to the Field Museum I am indebted for the use of pictures shown on Plates I and II.

The Professional Hunter

Although the majority of boys and men among the Ovimbundu indulge in hunting to some extent, and even women and children may assist in burning the grass and driving game, the professional hunter *ukongo* is a recognized specialist, who is qualified by specific training, and thought to be dependent on ritual and magic for success.

A boy who wishes to be a professional hunter has to serve an apprenticeship of two years with a man who has merited the title *ukongo*, before he himself can take that name. At the conclusion of training, preparations are made for inauguration of the novice into the professional class of hunters. Several hunters provide game which is cooked at a feast in celebration of the novice's inception. Only professional hunters may dance at this feast, and the novice himself, though present, must remain still until he feels " spirit on the head," then he distributes the meat to all present. Apparently no restriction of the guests is observed, and anyone from the Native village of the novice may attend.

Blood from the animals killed at this ceremony is sprinkled over the bow, arrows, spear, and club, which have been made for the novice by the *ukongo* who trained him. This rite is analogous to that performed by a master blacksmith, who makes a set of tools for his pupil, and sprinkles them with blood from a dog and other animals that have been sacrificed.

The daily life of a hunter is characterized by ritual acts and prohibitions. A hunter has a set of cooking pots reserved for his exclusive use, and he may not cohabit with his wife the night before he sets out on a hunting expedition. Immediately before leaving he washes his eyes with a preparation of herbs in order to secure keen vision. When indicating

the direction of game he should not point with his finger or with the sharp end of the arrow ; direction must be indicated with the feathered butt, for any other method will drive away the game.

The night before a hunt is the occasion for ceremonial connected with the bows and other implements of deceased hunters, whose weapons are hung on the walls of a small hut known as the " house of bows." The rite of anointing these weapons with palm oil and beer is performed by the hunter himself, and no medicine-man (*ocimbanda*) is required. The bows of dead ancestors are not used, but they are carefully preserved for ritual purposes.

During his lifetime a hunter keeps trophies of his skill, which are usually skulls of animals mounted on poles in front of his hut (Plate II, Fig. 2). In the west-central region of Angola, near Ganda and Luimbale may be seen tombs which are built only for hunters. These cairns are constructed from large slabs of stone, and they are usually situated on the summits of rocky hills (Plate I, Fig. 2). On the top of a tomb are placed skull trophies, sometimes with the addition of domestic utensils, and a long stick to which the tail of an animal is attached. Usually a stone tomb is provided with an entrance in the form of a thin slab of stone about one foot square, and on one occasion removal of this showed that the interior contained two skeletons lying supine. One instance was found of the erection of a small cairn of stones over the body of a favourite dog which had been buried near the master. A type of hunter's tomb differing from the one shown in Plate I, Fig. 2, has been observed near Luimbale. This form of mausoleum consisted of a platform raised on four wooden poles, round the bases of which were heaps of stones, and under these the body was interred. On the platform many skulls and bones of animals were placed.

Equipment and Methods

Although some hunters possess muzzle-loading guns of an old pattern with flint-lock ignition, the majority depend on their bows and arrows. A Portuguese prohibition against use of powder has tended to preserve the use of Native weapons, whose persistence probably accounts for survival of the ritual with which the ancient weapons have been associated. Along with his gun (*uta*) a hunter carries, usually on a leather waist belt, a pouch which may be of hide, or of leather studded with brass tacks obtained from a trader's store. Some of the guns are extremely dilapidated, and one such weapon was seen to have the barrel bound to the stock with strips of hide.

The bow (*ohonji*) is usually made from the woods *usha* and *osambia* which are hard, closely grained, and capable of taking a high polish. At one end of the shaft the bow-string, which is made by twisting two thin strips of hide, is fastened by twisting it many times round the shaft. But the other end of the string forms a small loop which slips over the end of the shaft, where a shoulder is cut to retain the loop in position.

The bow, which has a length of 150cm., is about 5cm. thick at the middle part of the shaft, which tapers to finely pointed ends. A comparison of bows and arrows collected in Angola with data given by L. S. B. Leakey¹ shows the Angolan forms to correspond with those of the southwest Congo, but with what detail in feathering of arrows and other points of technique has not been worked out. Leakey states that his research was unable to take cognizance of Portuguese West Africa because of paucity of material and the doubtful nature of that which was available for study.

A large collection of bows and arrows was made from the Ovimbundu, Vasele, Vachokue, and Vakuanyama, and a detailed study of this material, with the guidance of Leakey's article, is in progress. The bows and arrows of the Vakuanyama, who occupy the extreme south of Angola are distinctly different from those of any other Angolan tribes. The round-shafted bow with tapering ends is the characteristic type for Angolan tribes, but the Vakuanyama use a short bow which is broad and flat throughout the entire length. Moreover, the arrow-tips used by the Vakuanyama are small, triangular forms resembling some of the types used by Bushmen.

Every hunter of the Ovimbundu is able to make his own arrows, with the exception of the iron points which are the work of blacksmiths. These iron tips (Fig. 1) resemble some forms used by the Bashilile of the southwest Congo, but they differ noticeably from most of the forms employed by the Vachokue of eastern Angola. The arrow-heads of the Ovimbundu are tanged and bound into hollow reeds, which are feathered and provided with rectangular nocks about 10 mm. deep. In addition to the hunter's arrow, boys of the Ovimbundu and other tribes use blunt wooden arrows for killing birds (Fig. 1. No. 5). K. G. Lindblom² has prepared a map of Africa showing the distribution of arrows of this type. The points plotted show clustering in the region of Lake Victoria, occurrence in the southwest Congo, and presence in south Angola, but

¹ A New Classification of the Bow and Arrow in Africa. J.R.A.I.; LVI, pp. 259-294.

² Jakt-och Fangstmetoder, Part II, Stockholm, 1926, p. 99.

the greater part of Angola is left blank. Actually the distribution is continuous, for wooden arrows were obtained from southwest Angola, near Kipungo ; in the central areas among the Ovimbundu ; and in the west-central region among the Vasele.

The arrow release used by boys who shoot these blunt arrows is the primary, that is a type of release in which the bow-string is held between the thumb and the index finger. But this form of release is abandoned later in favour of the release called " Mediterranean " by A. L. Kroeber.³ In the " Mediterranean " release the string is engaged by the inner surface of the tips of the middle and index fingers, and the engaging finger ends are at right angles to the string. (Plate I, Fig. 1).

In addition to his bow and arrows, a hunter has a club (*ohunya*) of the South African knobkerry type, having a short shaft and a heavy end, which in some instances is round, oval, or mushroom-shaped. This weapon is used for throwing at hares, ground squirrels, or similar small game. The spear most commonly used, though this is becoming rare, is of the light iron assegai type used by the Vakuanyama. The entire blade and shaft are made from iron, and the butt is encased in the tail of an ox to which the tuft of hair remains attached ; such a spear is called *unga*.

In the pursuit of game the Ovimbundu do not use nets, neither is poison employed in wells or on herbage. A hunter disguises himself with a piece of hide placed over his head when stalking in long grass, and he sometimes attracts the attention of antelope with the note of a horn, across the mouth of which a spider's web is stretched.

Of large traps there are several kinds, the most common being *ocisonga*, a heavy structure (Plate II, Fig. 1) which is baited with a living goat or sheep in order to trap a leopard or a lion. Interference with the string attached to the bait lets down the heavy sliding door. This is the type of trap mentioned by K. G. Lindblom⁴ as being distributed over Negro Africa. A form of trap not so common as *ocisonga* is of heavy wood inclined at an angle to the ground, and kept in that position by a light stick, whose removal when the bait is touched brings down the heavy beams. Information respecting a fall trap armed with an iron spike was given. Such a trap was used for elephant, but these animals are now rare in Angola, and the trap was not seen in use.

Two types of trap often seen in west-central Angola were armed with pointed stakes. One of these devices consisted of a deep rectangular

³ University of California Publications. XXIII, p. 286.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 40.

pit with stakes embedded at the bottom. The other contrivance was made by arranging sharp stakes with their points directed toward a break in the bush, where tracks showed that antelope had been jumping through the gap.

The most common trap for small rodents, which are parboiled roasted, and eaten, is the long conical cane trap closed at one end. In west-central Angola a noose was used at the wide opening of this kind of trap. But more commonly, and especially in central Angola, several traps without noose attachments are placed in grass, which is ignited. Small animals rush into the traps to escape the flames.

Lindblom's map⁵ showing the distribution of the conical cane trap without a noose indicates occurrence in several regions north and south of the Congo estuary, but Angola is left blank. Lindblom⁶ explains, that since the map was prepared he has evidence of use of the trap among the Vangangela, and to this east-central region occupied by the Vangangela may be added central Angola and the west central region.

Collecting and Communal Hunting

In addition to the hunting activities of *ukongo*, the specialist, who is usually a solitary worker, communal hunts are held. On several occasions a hunting party of twenty men and boys was observed. The game, a small antelope, was hung on a pole borne on the shoulders of two men, while the other hunters ran alongside the dead game shouting and singing. The hunter *ukongo* most frequently dispenses with the services of a dog, but many dogs accompanied members of the communal hunt. The method of cutting the ears of a hunting dog "to make him hear well" is shown in Plate II, Fig. 3. Communal hunting is most usual in June and July, the middle of the dry season, when the grass is easily ignited.

At an early age boys use the wooden-tipped arrow *ocilave*, and in addition to this they have an arrow which is split at the end so that small stones can be forced into the cleft. This weapon, which is used for killing birds, consists of a small bow having the nocked end of the arrow fastened to the string. Therefore the arrow itself is not released, but the jerk of the string ejects the small stones from the cleft at the forward end of the arrow.

Boys observe certain prohibitions when shooting birds. *Esuvi*, *ondjimbi*, and *onduva*, are three birds for which special regard exists. *Esuvi* who flies by night can catch the spirits of the dead and make them

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 138.

die a second death, after which they have no more contacts with the living. *Ondjimbi* gives a cry which is the warning of death. *Onduvu* may be shot only when the feathers are required for making an ornament for a king or for a medicine-man.

In addition to shooting birds, boys snare them by smearing a thick vegetable mucilage on the boughs of trees. Nests are located and watched until the fledglings are large enough to serve as food. Sometimes small birds are kept in wicker cages as pets.

Women and children collect caterpillars which are squeezed in boiling water and made into soup. Locusts may be fried on hot embers as soon as they are caught, or they may be preserved in a mixture of fat and salt. The flesh of the python (*omoma*) is appreciated, but I have no evidence that the flesh of other snakes is used as food.

In the central and eastern parts of Angola, among the Ovimbundu, Vangangela, and Vachokue tribes, hives are placed in trees. A bee-hive is regarded as personal property, and in former days the robbing of a hive was regarded as seriously as any other theft. Hives, which are made by removing a cylinder of bark and lashing the halves together with strands of bark, are the only pattern observed. This type of hive has been described by C. Seyffert⁷ who has plotted the distribution for the whole of Africa. The occurrence of the hive in central and eastern Angola is part of a distribution which includes the southwest Congo region.

Among the Ovimbundu of the Elende district, honey of wild bees is removed from the hives in the months of August and December. A man ascends the tree and lowers the hive at the end of a bark rope. At the base of the tree men and boys are waiting to receive the hive which is at once opened over a smoky fire. The men wear no protection so are often severely stung. Honey is eaten alone or with mandioc, and a fermented beer named *ochasa* is made by adding honey to beer made from sprouting maize. The beverage is sweet and mildly intoxicating.

Beeswax is an important item of trade at the present day. Natives take their personal supplies to the stores of Portuguese traders, who mass the balls of wax into large rectangular cakes which are exported. In the former caravan trade of the Ovimbundu wax was one of the most important items of barter, since the balls measuring about 10 cm in diameter were conveniently transported. Fiber strainers are used for cleaning the wax, and large shallow baskets are employed for drying honey in the sun. For a European the honey is spoiled by the presence of numerous dead bees.

⁷ *Biene und Honig im Volksleben der Afrikaner*. Leipzig, 1930. Karte II.

TRANSITION FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD AMONGST THE ZULUS

By G. W. K. MAHLOBO and EILEEN JENSEN KRIGE

[N.B.—The information contained in this article was collected by G. W. K. Mahlobo in answer to various questionnaires which I sent to him. Though he is stationed at Port Shepstone where the Native population is very mixed, his informants were all Zulus from Zululand, and in cases where local informants were unable to supply information, he wrote to friends in Zululand. It would be difficult to mention all those who were questioned, but in order to give an idea of the districts to which the details given below more particularly apply, it is as well to mention that our chief informants were :

- (a) Joel Cetshwayo Zondi ka Kawukawu, (aged sixty-nine), now living near Port Shepstone, but who has described his own *Qumbhuza* and puberty ceremonies as they were held at his father's kraal under Chief Mzimba, Inanda District, Verulam.
- (b) Mcitwa Mzobe, (aged forty-two), of the Mzobe Nyuswa Ngcobo clan, who comes from the Ndwedwe District on the Natal side of the Tugela.
- (c) Mcateni Biyela, (aged thirty), of the Biyela clan, Chief Mkom-bisi, Melmoth District, near Eshowe.

After the information had been written up it was sent for corroboration to G. C. Mdhladhla, Inspector of Native Schools, Nongoma, who is satisfied that what is contained in the article is correct for the districts round the chief kraal of the late King Solomon, in the heart of Zululand. The difficulty in describing most of these ceremonies is that they are rapidly breaking down and passing away—some for ever, others surviving but becoming so changed and adapted to European and Christian influences as to be almost unrecognisable. One finds these customs in many different stages in different parts of the country and among different families, but none of the ceremonies are to-day carried out in the fullness of detail described by our older informants, such as Zondi and Mzobe. E.K.]

Among the Zulus, as among primitive peoples in general, the individual becomes a full member of the society in which he has been born only

after having passed through a number of stages, and into each of these he must be formally initiated by means of various ceremonies. As a child, he is of little importance; even his death would be mourned only by a few of his nearest relatives. Gradually, however, every boy passes through various steps, increasing in importance until he becomes a full adult member of the tribe. The first of these is the *Qumbhuza* or ear-piercing ceremony, followed later by the *Tomba* at puberty, the *ukuButwa* or enrolment into a regiment and finally, in the old days, the *Kehla'ing* or putting on of the head-ring.

At all these ceremonies, people of the same age as the initiate are present and play an important part, for, in the words of an informant, in Bantu society one lives in a group. These groups come to be formed quite naturally. Bantu children, like all children, are inclined to associate with those nearest them in age. But a child must be able to hold his own in his set, so that apart from age, build, intelligence and courage also play a part. Any group of children in a neighbourhood, differing in age by not more than about three years, belong to the same *intanga* or age set and call each other *ntanga*—my equal. These *intangas* are, at this stage, loose groups and not very clearly marked off from one another. Where, however, a collective ear-piercing ceremony is held periodically, the children whose ears were pierced at the same time are definitely considered as members of one *intanga*. Puberty is an important dividing line between age-sets for in no case will a child who has reached puberty be considered as of the same *intanga* as anyone under puberty, and all the boys and girls in one district (*isiGodi*) who have reached puberty, but have not yet been enrolled into a regiment, are members of one *intanga*. To be in charge of the *intanga* of boys over puberty in the district, the *induna* or headman chooses an older person, very often someone belonging to the age-set just above them and he remains their leader as long as he lives. The chief or king must always be notified of this choice because he must know of all such arrangements. The man in charge of an *intanga* is known as *nogada* or *umpati* and nowadays is registered as a policeman over the boys, being often called *ipolisa laba fana*. He must be with the *intanga* in his charge on all occasions on which they are together as a group and he is responsible to the *induna* of the district for the good behaviour of his *intanga*. He is the man who, even to-day, is always called upon to state how faction fights began. At weddings and other similar occasions, every *intanga*, or those members of the *intanga* who are present, sits and moves in a group of files and lines, and its members are shown where to go and what to do by their *nogada* who signals and points with his stick or sjambok. When *intangas* of different districts are present, fights very frequently break ou

between them, and once a fight has begun, the other people all take sides, ties of friendship and, more particularly, of relationship by blood or marriage, being a deciding factor in their choice of sides. The *nogada* is not in personal touch with every boy in his *intanga* for he only takes charge at group functions and sees little of the boys otherwise.

The *intanga* continues to have accretions from below until the formation of a regiment; then when once the boys have been enrolled and given a name, they become a fixed group into which no one younger may enter. When the paramount chief of the Zulus wishes to form a regiment he sends word to the chiefs under him (heads of an area known as *isiFunda*); these sub-chiefs instruct the *indunas* in charge of the districts (*isiGodi*) into which their area is divided and these *indunas* then instruct the *nogada* in charge of the boys over puberty. These boys have then to be sent up to the royal kraal to be *butwa'd* or enrolled. Sometimes, when the number of boys waiting to be enrolled becomes so large as to be unwieldy, a few of the younger ones from among them may be taken as the nucleus of a younger group to which will be added the next boys to reach puberty. The *intangas* of the districts that go up for enrolment have no distinguishing name, but all the *intangas* of one sub-chief are called collectively by the name of their chief e.g., *aba kwa Biyela* (those of the Biyela tribe) or *aba kwa Cele* and so on. The new regiment will be made up of all the district *intangas* and will include all the boys within the jurisdiction of the paramount chief, who have reached puberty but have not yet been enrolled. At the head of the new regiment are one or more *indunas* chosen by the paramount chief. But the *nogadas* still retain their position as head of their *intanga*, which usually forms a separate company (*isiviyo*) within the regiment. The different *nogadas* regard each other as colleagues for they hold the same office, but they rank below the *indunas* at the head of the regiment.

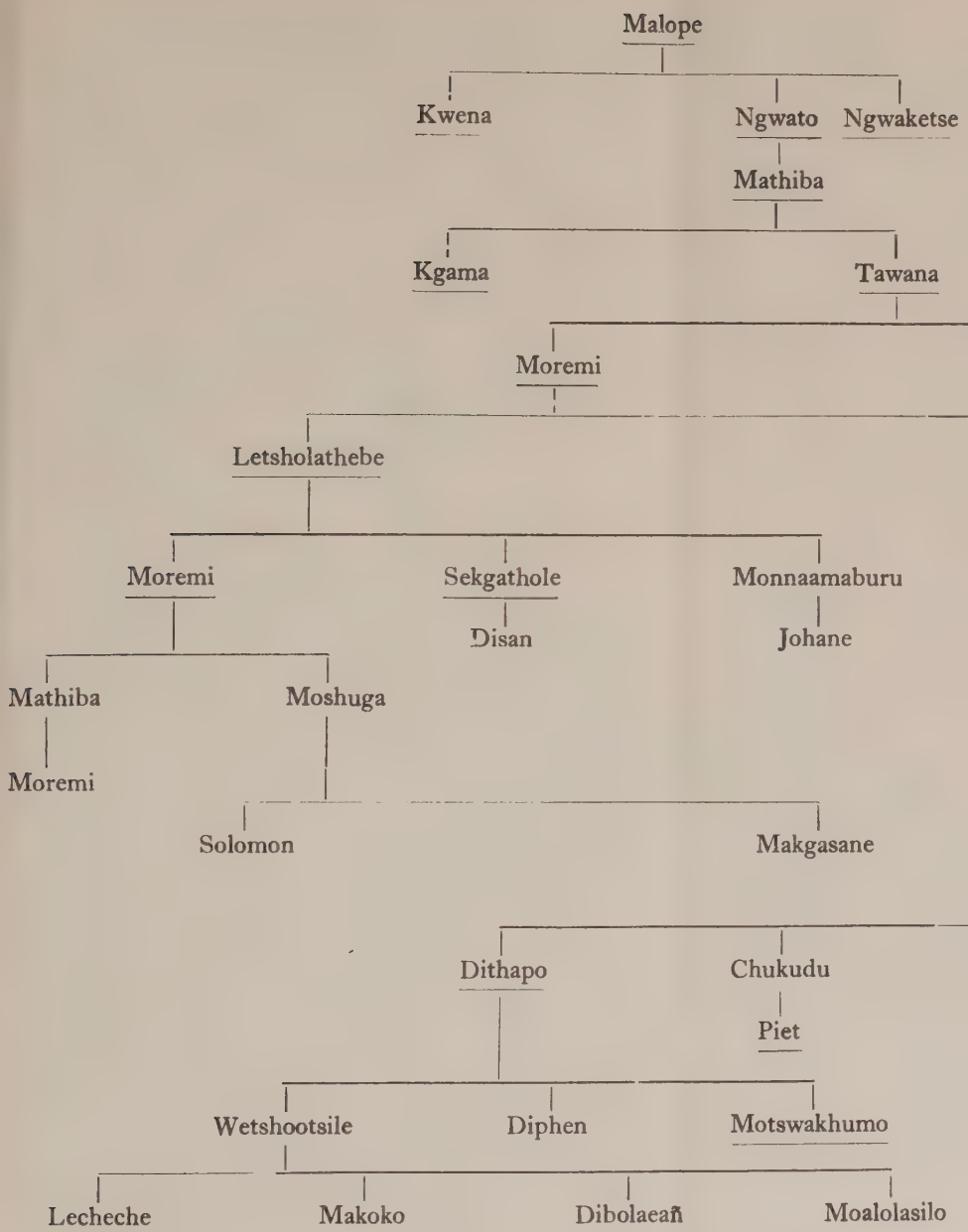
Corresponding to every *intanga* of boys is an *intanga* of girls, who are considered as a regiment when the boys of their age have been enrolled. The *intanga* of girls never meets all the corresponding *intangas* of their age as do the boys at their enrolment into a regiment, and on the whole life for both men and women is largely a district one. It is really only the people in the same locality as you are who are important in your daily life, whom you meet and whom you know. Corresponding *intangas* of boys and girls are regarded as brother and sister *intangas*, and thus if a boy invites the members of his *intanga*, living in the neighbourhood, to act as *umtimba* party at his wedding or that of his sister, the girls of that *intanga* automatically take charge of the feminine functions in connection with that ceremony.

The Qumbhuza

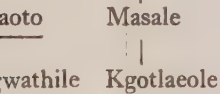
The piercing of the ears of every Zulu child, boy or girl, is called *Qumbhuza* or *Xhexha* or *ukuSika* or *u ku dabula izi ndhlebe* and must take place before the child reaches puberty. As the *Qumbhuza* is always accompanied by some sort of feasting and merrymaking and thus is quite an expense, it very often happens that instead of each father holding a separate feast for his child, the head of the district (*induna ye sigodi*) calls up all the children of the right age and the piercing is done collectively. In this case each parent sends beer, corn, mealies and a goat or sometimes a beast as his contribution to the feast. In some districts, e.g. Inanda District, Verulam, this collective ceremony is the recognised form and every headman holds it at about the same time, just after harvest when the cattle are put to graze in the reaped fields and the weather is already cold. In other districts in Zululand, e.g. Nongoma and neighbouring districts, the individual ceremony is the rule while further south, in the vicinity of Port Shepstone the collective ceremony is not known at all. Usually even in individual ceremonies a number of the children of the same kraal are treated together. The *Qumbhuza* may only take place at new moon or full moon. Thus it is said "*kwe twas kwe nyanga*" when the new moon appears—"it is time to begin making a person" or adding a new unit to the family. The time of full moon is said to be chosen because "*uma inyanga i hlangene*"—"the children are being made full," full members of the family.

Preparations

In the case of an individual *Qumbhuza* which will be described first, invitations must be sent out to the neighbours to be present at the feast, especially to the children of the same *intanga* or age-group as the child whose ears are to be pierced. They must attend the feast of their mate. Then follow certain precautions which must be observed in order to ensure that the ears will heal successfully. In Zulu society when anyone is ill or wounded no "unclean" person may come to see him, even if such person is a close relative or a wife, lest the wounds get poisoned. "Unclean" people include menstruating women (*abase nyangeni*), pregnant women (*a be miti* or *aba kulekwe*), women with young children (*aba dhlezana*), any people who have had sexual connection (*aba ne ntsukwini*), those whose relatives or any near relation has just died (*aba ne si nyama* or *aba nomnyama*), those who have just been to a burial or have handled a dead body or had anything to do with a corpse (*aba vela esilikweni ba nomnyama*). It is unclean to sleep with a woman even if no actual connec-



RESIDENT MAGISTRATE,
Ngamiland.
 31-12-28



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tion takes place.¹ Since at a *Qumbhuza* a child's ears are cut, there are for this reason very special precautions necessary to ward off such dangers from the child. No one in the kraal may have sexual intercourse on the night previous to the ear-piercing and there is abundant evidence that all the inmates of the kraal are warned by the kraalhead to abstain from sexual intercourse for a day or two or even three days. They are informed why this should be done and reminded that breaking this rule will be detrimental to the child whose wounds will become septic. They are further asked to keep away from the child, if anything does happen and they are defiled. As a further precaution the child himself is secluded the night before the ceremony and put under the supervision of the officiator or, if he is not there, some other older person. The child sleeps alone that night and is isolated until the ceremony is performed the following morning. All who come to see the child while he or she is secluded give him advice, exhorting him to be manly and courageous and to keep away from womenfolk as much as possible.

The Officiator

Anyone who is allowed to dress wounds or perform any operations must, of course, be "clean," so for the officiator the rules of continence at this time are particularly strict. He does not even remain long in the company of women before the ceremony nor does he sleep in a hut used by women. If he is not a member of the same kraal as the child whose ears he is to pierce, he usually sleeps at that kraal on the night before the piercing. Similar rules apply in the case of a woman officiator and it is not uncommon for a woman to do the ear-piercing. The person to pierce the ears of any child is chosen for his dexterity at the work and also for his general experience and wisdom. He is one of the older people and must be someone whose wounds or hurts have always healed quickly without becoming septic. Often a doctor is employed and in the case of one informant from the Eshowe district, the piercing was done by his mother who was the chief woman in the kraal. In the vicinity of Nongo-

¹ There is no special term for "clean" among the Zulus but the term for "unclean" is "*ukuba ne si nyama*"—"to have blackness on." To cleanse or purify oneself from such a condition the procedure is first to smoke or steam oneself with roots, barks or herbs given by a doctor, or with whatever medicine (*muti*) is in general use for this purpose in the district. Very often in addition, fat of certain animals mixed with medicine is smeared on the body, after which it is necessary to wash in some stream and in serious cases of uncleanness, such as the death of a relative or having handled a corpse, medicines are *cinda'd*, i.e. sucked off the fingers. The cleansing is completed by taking "white medicines," i.e. cleansing medicines, early in the morning before sunrise, and these act as an emetic. In most cases of uncleanness, however, it is considered enough to use "white medicines" before sunrise and wash the body in a stream.

ma to-day there are two officiators—a man of the Uve regiment and a woman past child-bearing,² and of the two the woman is said to be the more efficient. The officiator is never paid but merely joins in the feast.

The Sacrifice

If the child whose ears are to be pierced happens to be the chief son and heir, a thanksgiving offering will be made. It might be pointed out here that there are two kinds of sacrifice among the Zulus:—(1) *uku Bonga* (thanksgiving) when something good has come about, e.g., when a child reaches puberty, when much food has been obtained or even when the general life of the kraal runs smoothly. (2) *uku Keta* (to scold) when people of the kraal die or other evil befalls them. In the former case the chief man of the kraal praises the ancestors for the good enjoyed; in the latter he seriously enquires what he has done to be so persecuted by them, and finally sacrifices to them to propitiate them.

On the morning on which the ear-piercing is to take place a male goat or a bullock will be slaughtered (at about 9 o'clock). This animal must be a male if the sacrifice is for a boy as it would be considered degrading if a female animal were to be slaughtered for a boy. The father of the boy or the kraal-head thanks the ancestors for having preserved his child, and after the beast has been stabbed, the usual parts of the flesh are offered at the *msamo* (back) of the *Indhlunkulu* hut (the chief hut) to be partaken of by the spirits. Sacrifices are all more or less the same and as the details will be given in connection with the *Tomba* ceremony, all that need be mentioned here is that the meat and *imvepo* (incense) are burnt at the *msamo*, snuff is thrown down near there (*ukuvuvuzela ugwayi*) and a little pot of beer placed there for the spirits. Immediately after the sacrifice the piercing of the ears takes place.

The Operation

The operation is usually performed at the entrance to the cattle kraal, but sometimes just outside the kraal, and it depends very largely on the officiator what people may be present at this piercing. The only rule that must in all cases be observed is the exclusion of all women except those past childbearing age. Sometimes the officiator is alone with the child; at others three or four men are present to hold the child. The instrument used is a piece of iron (*incingo*) about half an inch wide and sharpened at one end. Sometimes a small assegai-like knife (*umkonto*) is used. The instrument is in no respect a special one, nor is it prepared or treated before its use in the *Qumbhuza*. The top of a corn stalk (*ugaba*) is cut up

² I is, however, said that she did this work long before she was past child-bearing.

into small pieces and one of these is put into the newly-made hole in each ear. As it heals, bigger and bigger pieces are put into the hole till pieces of reed can be used, and if the cut develops into a serious sore, it is washed with warm water in which the *uzi* root has been soaked. The women utter high-pitched shrieks after the piercing has been completed and also during the singing and dancing which follows. Such shrieks are usual whenever there is any merrymaking.

End of the Ceremony

General feasting and dancing follows the piercing of the ears, for there is always plenty of beer on this occasion, and the *qumbhuzua'd* child eats and dances with the rest. This merrymaking is supposed to last one day, but in effect it lasts as long as there is meat and beer. No special dress is worn by the child. As young people never sit and drink beer or eat meat with old people, there is usually a special hut for the visitors who drink beer with the boy's father, while the young people dance and drink beer in and near the hut in which the child was confined. On this occasion as in other transition ceremonies, the individual is given presents. These are usually presented late in the afternoon by visitors as well as relatives. The father usually gives the boy a new shirt nowadays; this he presents to his son when the other presents are being given or later when the others have gone. Though not secluded after the ears have been pierced, the child is kept in more strict control than usual till the ears have quite healed.

The ear-piercing is the first step from childhood to adulthood and though it is not a very important step, it nevertheless results in a higher status. It is said the child is now able to hear and understand and his ears have been opened so that he will hear well. *Qumbhuzua'd* children are distinguished from others in various small ways. In the old days, before service with the European took away so many of the young men, this marked the time when the boys first looked after cattle, instead of goats. A *qumbhuzua'd* child is considered more responsible than others and nowadays if he is herding cattle together with others who have not yet reached that stage, and the cattle have strayed, it is the boy with pierced ears who would be called to account for it.

A COLLECTIVE QUMBHUZA

Seclusion of the Children

In the case of a collective ceremony where children from several kraals are treated and many people are present, greater precautions have

to be taken to keep the children from contact with "unclean" persons. Hence they are secluded even after their ears have been pierced. When a collective ceremony is about to be held, the headman (*induna ye sigodi*) sends out orders naming the day he has decided upon. Everyone then sends beer, corn, mealies, goats, etc., for the feast. To make sure that everyone coming into contact with the children will be "clean," a whole day and night is spent at the headman's kraal previous to the ceremony, during which everyone will be kept under strict control. This refers only to those who wish to be in close touch with the children, to have access to them while they are secluded, and to act as teachers. It is taken for granted that such people will be "clean." If one of the children were to get blood-poisoning in the ear, this would be a great disappointment to all and a doctor might even be employed to smell out the culprit who attended "unclean." In olden times enclosures are said to have been made some distance from the kraal, one for the boys and one for the girls, who were to have their ears pierced; but this has not been seen by any of my informants. Nowadays an *ilawu* or young people's hut on the *indhlu-nkulu* side of the kraal is chosen for the boys, and one on the *ikhohlo* side for the girls. In most cases the boys who last had their ears pierced take charge of the initiates but this does not prevent the older people from doing their share. All are under the orders of the officiator. The children are not supposed to go out of the hut except by special permission of the one who is in charge but their seclusion is in practice not so very strict, it being considered sufficient if the children keep to themselves and do not mingle with or speak to other people.

Advice is given to the boys, consisting of injunctions to obey their elders, to work hard and be men, to "love stock for no man is without cattle," to be a help to their fathers and keep away from women; not to sit by the fire always because the fire will burn their legs and they will be stricken with cold (*uza kuba nezi mbhala futi ube na magolwane*); not to allow any woman to pass over their legs if they happen to be sitting with legs stretched because then they will always fall when it is necessary to run on any occasion; they are told always to sit on their haunches (*qoshama*), ready to get up in a moment—not flat (*bhazalala*) like a woman. There is no evidence of any sexual rules taught at this stage.

The food eaten by the children in seclusion is meat and beer though sometimes *izinkobe* (cooked mealies) may be allowed. At all times when the individual is passing through a transition stage and when any "uncleanness" will have a dangerous effect, the diet is confined to meat and beer. It is necessary on these occasions to have strengthening food and meat and beer are held to be the most nourishing and vitality-giving—

hence the use of meat and beer only at weddings, the *Tomba* ceremony and also as the sole food of all warriors while in camp. *Amasi* may not be eaten because it is a "soft" food and other foods like *umdeko* or *incwancwa* would similarly be objected to on the grounds that they weaken rather than strengthen. *Izinkobe* and *imbhasha* are also considered strong foods and they are mostly used by warriors in time of war.

The Thanksoffering and the piercing of the ears

In the collective ceremony as in the individual there is a thank-offering, only this time it is the headman who officiates and only one beast is killed for all the boys. The headman appeals to his own ancestors, who are said to control his area in the same way as the king's ancestors control the whole country under his rule. It is said that in some instances the best of all the beasts given for slaughter on this occasion (for a number are killed for the feast that is to follow) is sent to the chief to be slaughtered there for the chief's spirits, who are asked to "prolong the good health of the tribe," and thanked for the increased adult membership which results from the inclusion of these children who are entering upon their first stage into adulthood. Even the ordinary offerings which a chief may make are said to have an effect on all the tribe. It is for this reason that the subjects of the chief are all vitally concerned when the chief's ancestors show any sign of being angered. If, therefore, there is illness in the chief's kraal the people often send many cattle to be offered until the spirits have been reconciled and matters improve.

Before the piercing of the ears is begun the children must be arranged in strict order of precedence, for it is essential that those of high rank in the tribe should have their ears pierced first. This impresses upon the minds of the children their own position in the district in which they live and their place in its social life. But it also gives them some idea of the ranking of families within the bigger unit of the tribe, because a relative of the chief under that *induna*, who may not be as important as the *induna* himself as far as the district is concerned, will nevertheless rank higher than the *induna* when it comes to precedence at a *Qumbhusa* ceremony. The officiator cuts the ears first of the boys and then he goes to the girls and pierces their ears. After the feasting that follows this ceremony, most of the people return home, but the children whose ears have been pierced have to remain on a day or two after this so that they can be in a "clean" kraal and be properly supervised till their ears have begun to heal. Their ears are attended to every day by the officiator. The general belief is that if the children are allowed to go home at once they stand a much greater chance of coming into contact with "unclean" people and so of

their ears not healing well. All the time that the children are at the headman's kraal, the people in the kraal have to refrain from sexual intercourse. All this time, too, there is feasting and merrymaking. Collective *Qumbhuza* ceremonies are held every two or three years.

To the Zulu mind a *Qumbhuza* ceremony cannot be said to be accompanied with any special ceremony beyond the feasting that takes place. All the other things that have been mentioned are nothing more than ordinary precautions against the dangers of "uncleanness," while *bonga* sacrifices are quite common occurrences. Thus many a Zulu will tell you that there is no ceremony accompanying the piercing of the ears though, when pressed, he will admit that what has been described above is correct.

TOMBA CEREMONY

The *Tomba* ceremony marks a very important stage in the life of the individual, viz., the attainment of physical maturity, and the occasion is a very important one both for the individual and for his kraal. In this respect the *Qumbhuza* can hardly be compared with the *Tomba*.

Driving out the Cattle (uKwemuka kwe zinkomo)

When his first genital discharge takes place, a boy rises very early, when it is still dark, and takes all the cattle out of the kraal. Sometimes he takes the neighbours' cattle along with his father's. These he drives to some far-off spot in the veld near some stream and here he herds them as secretly as possible. He will bathe in the river before sunrise. In the morning the inmates of the kraal, on seeing all the cattle and one of the boys missing, will understand what has happened. It will be said *Izinkomo ze mukile*—the cattle have gone away: *not* that someone has taken them away.

As the cattle have all disappeared, it is essential that they should be found. All the boys of the neighbourhood who have already reached puberty but have not yet been formed into a regiment, and to whose *intanga* the boy will belong, are now summoned to look for the cattle. A boy who is found only after a long and difficult search is considered important—the harder the task to find him, the greater is his value as a new member of the kraal. Often he is not discovered till quite late in the afternoon. One informant from the Inanda District, Verulam, states that the boys fetched him with an assegai, given him on this occasion as a present by his father. Another, from the Ndwedwe district on the Natal side of the Tugela River, says that his assegai was given him at a later stage

and was the one used to stab the beast sacrificed for him. The former seems to be the older custom, for the beast is in that case stabbed with the ancestral assegai kept specially for sacrificial purposes. In all cases, however, an assegai is given the boy by his father. Every man must have an assegai and when his father gives the boy this his first assegai, it signifies that he is now a man.

On being found, the cattle are driven home with the boy in their midst (*Zibuye izinkomo*) and often they are not found till late in the afternoon, so that they arrive home very late. On their arrival home the boy is put into the cattle kraal with the cattle. The fact that the boy is *driven* home with the cattle is explained in the following manner by the Zulus themselves:—On getting his first genital discharge the boy (prior, we presume, to being duly incorporated into the adult group and being accepted by society) is nothing but a beast. He has to go and wash in the stream, so he takes the other cattle with him and from there he, like the rest of the cattle, has to be driven back home. It is of interest in this connection, that the boy at this stage is considered “just about to be born” and at the end of the ceremonies he has to dive in the water once only and on emerging he is supposed to be newly born.

Strengthening the Boy

While the boys are away the father of the boy or his guardian will be preparing strengthening medicines with which to strengthen the boy when he arrives home. If the father knows something about medicines (knows “*intelezi*”) he may use his own medicines. Or he may get the medicines already mixed from someone else and use these, observing the instructions of the giver. In some cases a doctor is employed but this is not at all essential. *Amakubalo*, *nezi intelezi*, barks and herbs are used for this purpose and usually the medicine is very bitter, *imihlaba* or aloes being amongst the herbs. It is exceedingly difficult to discover exactly what medicines are used in such a mixture: barks, roots, fats, leaves, animal skins, etc., probably all go to make up the medicine. No doctor will tell people what medicines he uses and in order to preserve secrecy, medicinal names are given to many trees and shrubs, differing greatly from the usual names by which these are generally known. Very often human fat is included amongst the ingredients for this is supposed to have a great strengthening effect, making other people fear a person who has been so doctored. High prices are given for European or Native fat—or what is taken to be such. European fat is called *amafuta e ngena limi*—“the fat of an upright enterer” (for Europeans can walk into their houses in contrast to Zulus who have to creep into their huts); Native fat is called *setai*

mlilo—"one that warms himself by the fire," or *i gumbha ndlela*—"a goer until the path deepens." In the vicinity of Port Shepstone the chief *amakubalo* used in any mixture are *Intsinzi* (supposed to have a strengthening effect); *umdhlebe*; *sehlulamanye*; *i Kubalo lika tokolotshe*; *umzilanyoni*; *u hlangoti*; *umbhulelo*; *isi ndiyandiya*. Most of these names are fictitious.³

The father of the boy may not officiate at his son's puberty ceremony unless he is "clean." If he had sexual intercourse the previous night he is defiled and cannot act. If there were no one that could take his place he would take his medicine bags and put them on the ground. Then he would get an old woman or a little girl under puberty, point out what medicines are to be used and direct her as to how to mix them and grind them. Then he will ask a "clean" man to administer these medicines to the boy in the cattle kraal while he himself remains outside, giving his instructions from there. In order to be able to conduct the rest of the proceedings of the puberty ceremony himself, the father will in the early morning of the second day, take "white medicine" and then bathe in the stream or, as is also stated, at home, and he is then clean for any work that day.

On seeing his son coming with the cattle, the father or the head of the kraal stands in the village and shouts "*Namhla sengi ne ndoda eza nezi hlangu*"—"To-day I have a man who comes with shields." The father orders a little milk to be drawn from each of the milking cows of the kraal and this is done by the mature boys or some other older inmate of the boy's kraal. The only people allowed in the cattle kraal at this time are the boy who has reached puberty, his father or guardian, and the mature boys who have fetched the cattle. The other people only stand about outside and look on. Old men, related to the boy's father may also assist and in many instances a doctor is present to do the "strengthening." The milk is mixed with the medicines and a little *mabele* meal (kafir-corn meal).

A fire is now kindled at the entrance of the cattle kraal. In the old days this was done by means of *uzwati* (revolving sticks) but this has fallen quite out of use and nowadays matches are used. If there are no

³ *Intsinzi* is a black substance prepared from barks of certain trees or also from roots, herbs or animal fats, according to the purpose for which it is to be used. *Umdhlebe*, *sehlulamanye*, *umzilanyoni* and *uhlangoti* are barks of certain trees, while *isi ndiyandiya* is a herb with a root like a potato. It is found at the bottom of deep pools and is supposed to contain *Tokolotshe* (or perhaps some of his power); *Tokolotshe* is a wicked little dwarf who lives in the reeds.

matches, then fire must be taken from the chief hut, and from no other hut than this one. On this fire a piece of earthenware (*uDengezi*) is heated to a high temperature and when hot enough the mixture (*isithubi*) is poured on to it. The boy then kneels by the *uDengezi* and *ncinda's* this foaming, boiling mixture, i.e. sucks it from the tips of his fingers till the earthenware lid is dry again. This is sometimes called *ukutshaya izembe*—to strike the axe. Before he *ncinda's*, the boy is usually sprinkled with *inteleri* by his father or the doctor. It is usual in all sprinkling (*chela*) first to sprinkle in all directions before sprinkling on the object and this is done in this instance too. Sprinkling is common in all "strengthening" processes but in this case, if there is a doctor present he may change the order and do sprinkling after the *ncinda'ing* or bring in any innovation of his own. He might, for instance, require everyone to kneel down while he *chela's*, or he might say "spit towards the sun, all of you" and no one would dream of not complying with his orders. The boy may be sprinkled with medicines, given some to eat, have some blown into his nostrils or about his ears, head and body, have his fingers, arms and legs pulled—all this and perhaps other forms of strengthening before partaking of the *isithubi*. One informant mentions that in his instance a hoe was heated till it was red-hot; he was led out of the cattle kraal and instructed to kneel before the *uDengezi* on the fire. Before he licked the medicine, the hoe was taken and placed on the top of his head on a tuft of hair and then passed close to the rest of his head. His head was then shaved clean with an *insingo*, after which he *ncinda'd*.

If there were always beer ready in the kraal, the rest of the ceremony could take place immediately. But beer has to be brewed and preparations made, so the father, after the *ncinda'ing* has taken place, informs the boys on what day the feast will commence. It used to be the custom for a goat to be slaughtered to "open the gate" for the boy or, as some say, "to enable him to enter the hut for seclusion." This was done in the case of Mzobe (about forty years old) from the Ndwedwe district but it does not appear to be done nowadays.

Isolation Period

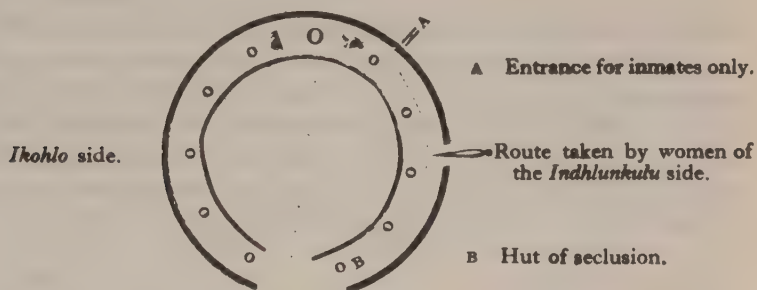
In the meantime the boy is taken to the *ilawu labafana* or boys' hut where he is secluded. The confinement hut may also be that of the grandmother or grandfather because that, too, is a "clean hut"; this will be the *indhlunkulu* hut of the kraal. The hut of the boy will be marked by having palm leaves or branches thrown just above the door. On no account, however, must he be secluded in his mother's hut and if his mother is the *indhlunkulu* wife, he will not be secluded in the *indhlunkulu*

hut. The most common seclusion hut for a boy seems to be the *ilawu*. He must sit on the *msamo*—the back part of the hut. The *msamo* is the place of honour in any hut; no one ever sits at the *msamo* of anyone's hut because this is the place for the spirits. It is the only place besides the cattle kraal in which they are supposed to remain.⁵ Thus the boy will never at any time have sat where he is now sitting—right in the *msamo*. He sits there because he is being offered to the spirits for protection, strengthening, etc. The boy is instructed not to go out, and not to speak to women. While in the hut he is covered up, or if he is not, he will cover himself when anyone other than his mates approaches. He is hidden from view also by a screen specially made for the occasion, or an old mat may be used. He speaks only in whispers and has little *umfana*'s to attend him. If someone makes a joke and everyone laughs, he has to hide in his blanket while laughing. He may not leave the hut except to relieve nature and then he goes surrounded by the boys of his group who are in attendance on him. As the boy must not be seen, especially by women, he is either covered with a blanket when outside or he will walk in a bent position to avoid being seen. He is wholly in the charge of the boys who were summoned to fetch him, and those who can be spared from their own kraals remain with him. These boys all sleep in the hut with the boy who has reached puberty, eat in it and observe the same food taboos. They have little to do with the rest of the kraal, avoiding women altogether, and meeting men only when they dole out meat and beer. They are thus also secluded, in a way, because they must keep away from other people as much as possible in order to avoid any "uncleanness." These boys all dress alike, generally, nowadays, in white shirts over their loin skin coverings.

During the whole of the *Tomba* ceremony the boys are in charge of the kraal. They do not, of course, interfere in other matters in the kraal but they are concerned with the safe custody of the boy and with the doling out of food and beer and the dancing and singing. In all these matters the father of the boy and other elders have no say at all. The idea underlying this is that these boys should learn how to do things including how to divide the meat, etc., for there is only one way of dividing meat, special parts going to certain people. The boys are all the time, of course, under the control of the *umpati* of their *intanga* who advises them in all matters. He may sleep in the same hut as the boys or he may just give instructions as to how they should behave. He generally does what he thinks will result in the smooth running of the whole affair. During the puberty ceremony the whole of the *Indhunkulu* side of the

⁵ Usually the best-clothes and valuables, including money, are kept on the *msamo*.

kraal is taken as belonging to the boys. This means that people will not be about on that side of the kraal. Women and others living on that side of the kraal will approach their huts from the top, i.e., the side where the chief hut is, and walk round the back of the huts between the huts and the outside fence. In this way they avoid coming in contact with the boys who usually do not go much beyond the hut where the boy is secluded, which is nearly always near the entrance.



All visitors avoid the *indhlunkulu* side and go round the *ikohlo* side of the kraal where they will be quite sure not to disturb any arrangements or enter the wrong hut while the ceremony lasts.

The boy who has reached puberty has to eat special food, and water and *amasi* (thick milk) are absolutely taboo. Even while herding the cattle the boy must not drink water, though, if it is very hot he may drink *itombonkala*—stagnant marsh water full of red, rust-like sediment. Water is said to weaken all the joints of the boy in the same way as it dissolves most things. It is, therefore, an enemy to strength. Similarly *amasi* is soft food and must not be eaten. The special food of the boy is *umthubi* (milk of a cow that has just calved) but if there is none of this, *isithubi*—fresh milk cooked with kafir-corn meal is used. In most cases it is *isithubi* that is used and medicines are added—(the same as were used for strengthening the boy in the cattle kraal). The *isithubi* for the boy must be cooked by a very old woman past childbearing age or by a girl who has not yet reached puberty. Occasionally a little beer is allowed the boy. The other boys must also abstain from *amasi* and they must not touch any milky food at all. Their food is meat and beer and also *izinkobe*, the usual food in transition ceremonies.

During his seclusion the boy is called *umakoti*, the name for a bride because, like a bride, he is about to be added as a new unit to the family. While the boy is confined in his hut old men *entef* and also very old women (who in Zulu society are considered to be the same as men, having

no ritual uncleanness) and these express their joy that the boy is now a person in the kraal. They add that they hope he will be a good man and end up with advice as to how he should behave in order to be an asset to the kraal and the tribe. The mother's brother also visits the boy. It is, of course, a strict rule that those visiting the secluded boy must be "clean" and all in the kraal are expected to abstain from sexual intercourse during all the days of the *Tomba* ceremony. One of the informants (from the Ndwedwe district) states that on the last night of the ceremony he was given much advice and was specially taught how to behave himself with girls. He was warned that now that he was capable of harming a girl by impregnation he should keep as far as possible from the sexual organ of a girl and confine himself, in any intercourse, to the thighs. He was threatened by his father and uncle and told that if he made any girl pregnant he would either be killed or, if sent to the White people, they would imprison him for a long time and confiscate all his father's cattle.

The In-between Period

In the interval between the strengthening of the boy in the cattle-kraal and the day mentioned by the father for the commencement of the feast nothing is done at all; no part of the ceremony is enacted. The boys are secluded and do nothing but await the recommencement of the ceremony. It is an in-between period and cannot be counted as part of the ceremony: the first part of the ceremony ends at the cattle-kraal when the boy is led to the hut, and the ceremony recommences again on the day of the slaughter and sacrifice by the father. The boys, of course, may sing and dance as much as they please and often keep awake all night, but this forms no part of the ceremony, for the Bantu sing and dance whenever there is a crowd.

The Day of Sacrifice

When the beer is ready and the father has made all preparations for the sacrifice and feast (i.e. on the third or fourth day) the sacrifice is held. All the boys of the neighbourhood belonging to the same *intanga* as the boy who has reached puberty are specially invited to this feast. Usually, however, all the neighbours turn up because there will be meat. These visitors arrive when they wish to and many assist with pots of beer for the feast. A man will do all in his power to obtain a beast or even a goat for his son's puberty feast, even if he has no stock at all. The officiator will be the boy's father or his grandfather, if he is still alive, and he will, of course, be "clean." The officiator at any sacrifice must always keep away from women on the night before the sacrifice and sleep in the *ilawu*

or any hut where only men sleep and there is no fire. It is generally believed that men or more especially young men should not sit by the fire *ote umlilo* because it will make them easily affected by cold. No fire is to be made in the *ilawu* or the hut of the kraal head and in fact no fire ought to be made in huts which men only occupy. This custom is, however, dying out, though apparently it is still considered important in cases where a man must not be "defiled" in any way.

The boy who has reached puberty is again put in the cattle-kraal with the cattle, as though he has just arrived home from the veld. He wears no special dress. The boys in attendance on him remain outside the cattle-kraal near the *Indhlunkulu* entrance to it during the sacrifice unless one of them is delegated to stab the beast. All other inmates of the kraal or spectators remain on the *ikohlo* side of the kraal from where they may view proceedings. Thus the boy and the officiator are alone in the cattle-kraal during the sacrifice. If the father or grandfather who is to *bonga* does not wish to stab the beast or is too old to do so, a special man skilled at the job may be employed to do so or one or more of the mature boys may be used. Some beasts have to be held by the boys but others that are tame are simply stabbed where they stand among the cattle. If the father is not going to do the stabbing himself he will not enter the cattle-kraal but stand at the entrance to the cattle-kraal where he will walk to and fro *bonga'ing*. Then at the right moment he will point to the beast which will forthwith be stabbed.

When *bonga'ing* (shouting out praises to the ancestors) the officiator, wrapped in the old days in an old *isipuka* or skin cloak, and holding an assegai in his hands, greeted the ancestors and proceeded to commit the boy to their care. The following is a translation of the prayer said at the *Tomba* ceremony of Joel Cetshwayo Zondi ka Kawukawu (aged about sixty-nine) as far as he himself can remember it. (His grandfather Gutsha officiated) :—

"Oh you ascendants of Zondi, I do homage (*kuleka*) to you. I greet you. I report to you that here is your child. I say there is your child. I present him to you. I commit him to your care and custody. I hand him over to your hands so that you should strengthen him, look after him and protect him from all harm and misfortune. Guide him with power, instal him into manhood so that he may learn obedience, knowledge of the law, and respectfulness and diligence in all his work. I ask for power and capability from you. I say there is your son (*umfana*). Teach him to look after stock so that he be a man.

"I say I thank you on behalf of my son, Kawukawu. Keep him well with his kraal. I also commit myself to you Zondis. Look after me. It is I who says so, Gutsha *ka* Notshezi, son of Nondaba. It is I who says so, Gutsha son of 'Tshavu, son of Notshezi, son of Nondaba, son of Nomagaga. Gutsha—avoider. The avoider that avoids men, One that fights with his forehead, and is also able to bear long distances. The beast that grazed by the river bank and finished foreigners. One that trespasses during the daytime while cowards creep. The fight that started at home and ended in the deep river pool."

At the end of his *bonga'ing* the man *giyas* (jumps and fights an imaginary foe) with the rest of the people praising him aloud as he does so. When this is done he *bika's* (reports) to the ancestors what he has given them. Pointing at the beast about to be offered, he says: "Here is what I am thanking you with." Thereupon he stabs the beast or it is stabbed for him. The beast is usually stabbed with the ancestral assegai which is kept in the *indhunkulu* hut, but this is not always the case. One informant (Mzobe) states that he was given the assegai which his father held in his hand while praying. The *isipuku* is not used nowadays but both Mzobe (forty-two years) and Mcateni (a younger man) state that it was used at their *Tomba* sacrifice.

It is essential that the beast should bellow and it seems that in fact it always does. Informants say, however, that should it not bellow, it would be made to do so by having its tail pulled about or the assegai moved about in the wound. If it still does not bellow, it means that the spirits will not accept the beast and every effort will be made to obtain another to sacrifice instead. The first one will then be eaten as ordinary meat. If one is not obtainable then the people of the kraal will be very sad, expecting some misfortune. Not one drop of the blood or *umswane* (stomach contents) must fall to the ground because it is believed that a wizard may take this blood and *umswane* mix it with medicines and ask the spirits of the kraal in which the sacrifice took place to turn against the kraal and destroy it. When one has this blood and *umswane* the spirits are bound to listen ("a *guqule amadhlozi ukuba abulale umuze*"). Some say the skin of the sacrificial beast must be burnt, others say it is used for making shields.

The Meat of the Sacrifice

After the beast has been brought to the ground and killed, the young men begin skinning it. Strictly speaking, the onlookers should not enter the cattle-kraal at all but in actual practice and especially nowadays they

loiter around and even go right into the cattle-kraal for the purpose of obtaining meat (*amatshontsho*), a thing that was never done in the olden days. When the beast is opened up, the little girls of the kraal come with basins to get the blood, the other cattle are driven out and the boy for whom the sacrifice was offered is led back to the hut where he is again secluded. Before he leaves the kraal, however, his father will give him strengthening medicines again or simply blow some on to the boy. The beast is now cut up in the usual fashion by the boys, special parts going to special people in the family.

Before the meat is eaten, the spirits must be given their share. The *inanzi* or *injeke* is the fourth stomach of a beast, the inside of which looks like a honeycomb and contains what my informants call "liquid dung." This meat is regarded as sacred by the Zulus and it must always be offered to the spirits. In addition, other special parts are offered, each sib having its own special or "sacred" parts which are to be included in the burnt offering. The meat that is offered to the spirits consists of two main parts: that which is included in the burnt offering and that which is merely placed on the *msamo* for a time and afterwards eaten. The *inanzi* is used for both. A little bit of it is included in the burnt offering, while the rest is hung at the *msamo* of the *indhunkulu*, but on the end of a stick. Together with the small piece of *inanzi* are taken meat from the *impukane* (a piece of meat "by itself" attached to the outside end of the flesh on the shoulder blade, and which is regarded as a tit-bit) *umhlelo* (the caul or network of adipose tissue covering the viscera and forming part of the peritoneum) *isikaba* and *ovalweni* (meat cut from the abdomen just after the beast has been skinned and before it is cut open). All this together with *impepo* (a certain kind of incense) is thrown on live coals in a pot-sherd on the *msamo* as a burnt offering to the spirits. The parts for the burnt offering are called *isiko*.

Under the *inanzi* a fore-leg (*umkono*) of the sacrificial beast is laid down for the spirits. This *umkono* will be eaten by members of the kraal only and no one else. It is eaten with *isinge* (which, according to Bryant's dictionary, appears to be the buttocks.) This meat is called *inyama e dhliwa umkaya*. All food placed at the *msamo* including the *inanzi* is left for the spirits until the other meat is consumed and then it is given to old women past child-bearing age or children under puberty to eat. Usually a little beer and a small snuff box are also placed in the *msamo* for the spirits. In cases where a doctor is employed, he will choose the parts that must be burnt for the spirits and no one will question what he does. The main portions (excluding some parts such as offal, etc.) of the meat of the sacrificial beast must be eaten and finished on the day of

the sacrifice. If this meat is not all finished, what is left will no longer be in the charge of the boys, nor will they eat it. Beasts slaughtered before and after the sacrifice may be eaten at will because they are killed merely for feasting purposes.

When the special meat is being burnt for the spirits in the *indhlunkulu* hut, the father may fetch the boy to sit at the *msamo* while he *bika's*: that is, he reports the boy's stage to the spirits in an ordinary tone of voice (to *bika* is to speak; *bonga* is to shout out.) In some cases this is not done and so it is assumed that the action of offering is itself a request to the spirits for peace, etc., and the officiator is in this case said to "*bika* by heart." The ashes of the sacrificial meat are either sprinkled at the *msamo* and door of the hut late in the evening or thrown away at the entrance of the kraal the following morning.

General feasting ensues for the rest of the *Tomba* ceremony and if the family is rich, many goats and sometimes other beasts are slaughtered. The boys, who are in charge of the festivities, distribute the meat and beer to the people of the kraal and also to the visitors. The father of the boy will, of course, have beer and meat in his own hut where he will entertain his friends. There is singing and dancing and puberty songs are sung. These are, however, all said to be quite meaningless consisting of words such as "*Uyeiya ho, uyeiya ho eya he he.*" If there is plenty of meat and beer the ceremony will end on the second day after the sacrifice; if not then the day after the sacrifice will be the last day. All this time the boy is secluded and his companions do not mix with the rest of the people but sing and dance and feast on their own. Very often no one sleeps at night at all during the feasting.

The Day after the Sacrifice

If the ceremonies are not concluded on the day after the sacrifice the boy who has reached puberty will be taken out early in the morning to the river by the other boys to bathe. They return later with the boy hidden in their midst. They may come singing a new song which they have practised at the river, but this is not essential. They may often during the seclusion period go out into the veld to practise songs, in which case the initiate will always accompany them, hidden in their midst.

Aggregation

Early on the last day of the ceremonies the boy is taken by his comrades to the river. Some say he has to dive in once only and then come out, after which he is considered as newly born. He does not wash with strengthening medicines, but my oldest informant states that in the old

days the boy used the medicine first administered in the cattle-kraal on this occasion, to wash with. Just after he has emerged from the water the boys give him a new name which he retains all his life. This is the second name a man receives in his lifetime, the first being that which was given him by his father when he was born (*igamu lam elika baba*). The name given at puberty is *e Lobufana*; but every Zulu has three names, the last one being his regimental name. While the boys are away the hut is smeared with cowdung by an old woman or a girl under puberty.

If the boys have arranged that the final dance is to take place immediately on their return from the stream, they will dress the initiate in his new clothes at the stream and come back to the kraal singing the special song for the final dance. But more usually they wait until the afternoon. Meanwhile they make use of the newly-smeared hut for preparations and the boy is not yet seen by the other people. He still has to be quiet and speak only in a whisper. On their arrival back the man in control of the boys will go to the father of the boy and ask for the new clothing of the boy. Even to-day when these ceremonies are not observed very religiously an *ibetshu* and *isinene*, (a well-made back and front flap) must always be given the boy. In addition a white shirt and sometimes a waistcoat as well are given. The reed screen or old mat that was used in the hut of seclusion is burnt, together with the old clothes of the boy. If however, he has a younger brother, some of the best among his old clothes might be passed on to him, while his blanket is generally taken by his grandmother, or the oldest woman in the kraal. Some informants state that their old clothes were simply thrown away. It is important that all the clothes worn by the boy after the *Tomba* should be new.

The Izilo

When they think it about time to begin the *Izilo* or *Umgonqo* dance (the final dancing and ceremonial taking of the boy out of the hut) they dress the boy in his new clothes and perhaps fasten an ostrich feather or some other feather to his head, as a mark of honour. In his hand he will carry the assegai given him by his father, but nowadays this is seldom the case as assegais are not allowed. When they are about to come out of the hut they begin singing the *ihubo* of the sib while still inside, as a signal to the other people that they are coming. The father of the boy, who is amongst the other men outside, waiting, may *giya* (jump) and sing his own praises when the singing begins, because he is the man blessed with the addition of a new person in the kraal. This is similar to what happens in a wedding—just before the bride sings her wedding song and dance, the

father of the bridegroom always *giya*'s because he is the man who will be enriched. The boys come out in a file but the *umakoti* is hidden in the middle of the group of boys who come out last.

Gradually as the dance proceeds, the boy advances to the front and ends the dancing actually leading the group. The women, men and girls will now also begin singing and dancing each in their own groups and other visitors may dance in a group by themselves. It is said that the girls may join the group of boys in their dance. During this merrymaking the women will be running about *lululu*ing or trilling to show their joy. This is the "best part of the ceremony" in the estimation of the informants, and may continue until the evening. The spot chosen for the dancing varies according to the number of people present. If only a few are present the dancing may take place just outside the hut in which the boy was confined, otherwise on the *isigcauu* (just outside the cattle kraal) or at any specially selected spot outside the kraal, which will be called *isigcawu*. To the visitors this concludes the ceremony and they may disperse that afternoon or, if there is beer left, may sleep in the kraal and leave the following morning. Neighbours usually stay on until the last of the beer has been consumed. After this final dance the boy may speak and be spoken to and he may mingle with the crowd.

The boy is given many presents by relatives and friends "as a proof of the pleasure they have at his new status," and there is great rejoicing. His father may give him many presents besides the new clothes, e.g., a new blanket, and his mother, brothers and sisters, the father's brothers and sisters and his mother's relatives, particularly the mother's brother will give him presents. Indeed, so unrestrained and friendly is the relationship between a man and the people from his mother's kraal that he would demand a present from his mother's brother if he thought one was not forthcoming.

The ukuDhlakudhla

For the boy there is a final aggregation ceremony by means of which all food taboos which he has observed come to an end. This takes place on the evening after the *izilo* dancing. For this ceremony the boy may be called into the *Indhlunkulu* hut or the food may be taken to wherever the boy is, at the pleasure of the father of the boy. When the burnt offering was made to the spirits, pieces of the meat used were kept for the *ukuDhlakudhla* of the boy. The most important part seems to be *ovalweni* or *isu*. To this is added pieces of meat taken from many other parts of the sacrificial beast. This is mixed with strengthening medicine, the same as

was used for the boy in the beginning, and given him to eat. If a doctor has been employed he may direct the boy to use his hands or the meat may be put into his mouth by the doctor. The object is to give the boy meat from almost all parts that may be eaten by men. If this ceremony takes place in the *Indhlunkulu* hut the other boys will not be present; if administered in the hut in which the boy had been secluded, then they will be present, but they do not partake of the meat at all. In addition to the meat, a little *amasi* and any other food that there may be in the village is partaken of with strengthening medicines. This ceremony marks the final aggregation of the boy into the group of the mature. It is interesting to note that an *ukuDhlakudhla* is also the final ceremony by which a bride is incorporated into the kraal of her husband.

After the *Tomba* ceremony a boy is called *ibungu* or *intsizwa*, a name marking this stage (before his incorporation into a regiment). He is now a man and will begin to court the girls of his age and group but he was, in the old days, not yet able to get married. Before this could happen, two further stages had to be passed through, viz., incorporation into a regiment (*uku Butwa*) and the sewing on of the headring (*kehla*).

Tomba Ceremonies To-day

Nowadays the details of the *Tomba* ceremony as described above very seldom take place, owing to contact with civilisation and the teachings of Christianity. Christian Natives do not slaughter a beast for sacrifice, for they have been told it is a sin to praise spirits. Hence those Christians who have not discarded the *Tomba* custom altogether, have a very much curtailed ceremony. The boy goes out with the cattle, is fetched back and given medicine and *isithubi* in the cattle kraal, taken to some hut and secluded there for the day, and given *ukuDhlakudhla* that same evening. People who have no stock at all very often do the same and in the evening when the *ukuDhlakudhla* is observed, there will be general feasting. In fact such a one-day ceremony is described by one informant from Zululand.

When a Native whose people still observe the *Tomba* custom, gets his first genital discharge while he is working in town, he gets up early in the morning and goes to a stream to wash. On his way there he must make a point of passing a spot where different paths intersect. Here he must pick up a clod of earth *igabade* and swallow it and also chew a little of the grass from that spot. By this he is supposed to attract to himself power from the people who have used or will use that road. Thus instead of getting strength from medicines as he would at home on this

occasion, he gets his strength from other people by way of machinations, i.e., by swallowing the clod. After bathing he returns to his work but will take the first opportunity he gets of going home. On arrival home he sleeps there one night and the following morning takes out the cattle and goes through the ceremony in the usual way. Some do not bother to go home, but this is not reckoned as complete initiation.

To-day, therefore, we nowhere find puberty ceremonies being carried out in the complete form described above. Many young boys leave home at an early age to enter European service and the old tribal life is everywhere breaking down. Yet, although we find that among some Zulus the *Tomba* ceremony is only a skeleton of what it formerly was, there are still many families that observe most of the formalities that have been given.

The Uku Butwa or Enrolment into a Regiment

The next stage in the incorporation of a man into full tribal membership is his "grouping-up" with others of his age into a regiment. In the old days when there were military kraals (*ikanda*) at which adult men spent many months each year, it was customary for every boy to run away to a military kraal within whose jurisdiction his father's kraal fell, one or two years after his *Tomba* ceremony or when he felt that he was old enough to be *butwa'd*. There he would *kleza*, i.e., drink milk direct from the udder of the cow into his mouth as a sign that he wished to be enlisted. This was said to ensure his "growing well" in which no doubt the plentiful supply of milk aided. These boys tended the king's cattle in the *ikanda* and learnt the use of the spear. When the *induna* of the military kraal saw there were a good many such boys, he reported the fact to the king who would, if there were enough such boys, call them up to the royal kraal to form them into a regiment. Now there are no more military kraals but the formation of regiments continues to take place at intervals of seven or eight years though the custom is falling more and more into disuse. The last Zulu regiment, *upondo lwe Ndhlovu*, was formed in 1925 when the Prince of Wales was at Eshowe, advantage being taking of the large assembly of men who danced for the Prince. Wherever there is any corporate tribal life it is essential to have the *Jutshwa* for without it the men cannot be full members of the tribe nor do they know their proper place in the hierarchy of age which, in Zulu life, is so important. The absence of so many of the young men in the service of the Europeans affects the holding of these ceremonies, but this is not as great a drawback as may at first appear, for those absent automatically belong to the group

of their mates nowadays. The *ukujutshwa* thus differs from circumcision schools in not being so personal an initiation.

The most important part in the *Butwa* of old was the strengthening of the men so as to instil them with the courage and strength that is required of every member of the King's army. Now, however, this can no longer take place. Sprinkling the army with *intelezi*, making the soldiers *ncinda*, the *ukuqina amabuto*, the *ukuxhapisa* and the strangling of a bull by the regiment, all are now prohibited by law. Even the doling out of shields and the use of assegais on this occasion has been stopped (though one of the older informants has described it as taking place when he was *utshwa'd*) and beer, the main food of the regiments on this occasion is not allowed. But old customs die hard and there have been a number of cases before the Native High Court of Natal where chiefs have been prosecuted for "strengthening the army." One informant of the Biyela sub-tribe, Melmoth district near Eshowe, states that shortly after his regiment had been formed (just after the Great War) Mkambise Biyela, his own immediate chief, gathered his men before him for a sacrifice and ordered a bull to be strangled by the troops. For this he was charged before the Native Commissioner at Melmoth. To the Zulus this strengthening of the men is most important and very greatly liked: so much so that an informant states, "If a different European nation, ignorant of the Zulu customs (and, therefore, ignorant of what are war preparations and which are not) were to take over this country, the *Jutshwa* proceedings would be carried out in full including *C'ela*, *ncinda*, *xhapa*, etc." Thus they have been dropped only owing to European pressure.

The formation of regiments is the work of the chief, the only person with power to form new regiments, and this *ukujutshwa* or *ukubutwa* always takes place in winter, just after the harvest, when it is cold and dry and food is plentiful. The ceremony to be described here is what actually took place at Solomon's chief kraal Mahashini when the *Inqaba yoku casha* or *Inqaba yembube* regiment was formed just after the Great War, but where it differs from accounts given by older men, this will be indicated. The chief sent out men to announce to all his district headmen that he required the presence of everyone at the royal kraal (*Wonke amabuto aya funeka ko mkulu*). A day was fixed, on which all the *indunas zezi Godi* were to meet at a certain spot for the purpose of proceeding in ordered groups to Mahashini. This message was delivered by the *indunas* to the people under them in a mass meeting in each area and on the appointed day the *induna* sent one of his men out with a bugle which he blew around the area. Preparations were made for the journey, provisions were taken, and small boys chosen to act as carriers--each man had his younger brother

or cousin as his carrier. They had also all been instructed to come fully armed (with sticks and shields) and in full dress, i.e., in their best beads and decorations.

When all the different district chiefs and their men had arrived, they proceeded to the King's kraal in lines as though to war (*Si hambe si lala nje ngoba ku hlaselwe*). The men of each district formed one line under the control of the *induna*, or, where there were too many boys, there were several lines. The boys of each district were directly under the *Induna yesi Godi* and though the *umpati* in charge of each group was present, he played no part except as an assistant and advisor to the boys at the King's kraal. The general rule at the *Jutshwa* ceremonies in the old days used to be that all the men of the tribe were present for the first few days; the oldest regiment formed the council to the chief and in this they were aided by the other married regiments; the younger unmarried regiments looked to the order and welfare of the kraal, while the regiment that had been *jutshwa'd* last was in direct charge of the young men whose turn it was to be grouped. The life led at the *Jutshwa* is "that of soldiers."

Work

On arrival at Mahashini they were instructed to build *amadhlangala* (rough temporary huts used in war), each *Isigodi* (area) choosing its own spot from one to three miles from the King's kraal. They had to gather twigs, poles and thatch and were taught by the *indunas* and older men how to build these rough huts in which they sleep during their stay. This occupied them for two days and on the third they were called up to the royal cattle-kraal. They proceeded in line formation to the large cattle-kraal of the chief where they were arranged in lines round the sides of the kraal. The King's chief *induna* stood above the cattle-kraal and shouted out the instructions for the day. Near the spot where the chief *induna* stands is the place where the King stands if he wishes to see the groups advancing into the kraal. Every time they approach the cattle-kraal of the King they give the royal salute *Bayete*—but not until the *indunas* in charge have instructed them to do so by giving the order *ukutshaya u mteto*; and every time the King appears or leaves, this has to be done. The instructions on this occasion were that they should go to the low veld *ehlanzeni* and chop poles and wood for milkpails (*izintungo*) for the cattle-kraal. To get to the low veld a night had to be spent in the veld. The boys always go about armed with sticks and shields and while away they have to get food by hunting. Each warrior had to bring back only one pole because of the large number of them in the different groups. Even so, far more than enough of these *hlahla* were brought. A few days were

then spent taking away the old poles of the King's cattle-kraal and putting in the new ones.

Every day singing and dancing and marching in lines in army formation takes place. War songs and *iHubo's* are sung but there are no songs special to the *ukuJutshwa*. The King may order special dancing to be done before him and war cries, running, etc., which are used in fighting or hunting, are practised. At such times in the old days the different regiments used to compete with each other in their dancing and they often invented new songs for their own use. This dancing is regarded as a training like European drill, and this is the only occasion on which war dances are learnt.

During their stay at the chief's kraal the young men are harshly treated and, especially in the old days, they were ill-treated and whipped at the pleasure of their superiors. All instructions have to be obeyed promptly and to the letter and should any one of the young men do wrong, he brings down punishment on the whole regiment, for collective responsibility holds. Often they are made to fight one another (*ukuqatwa* or *ukutelekiswa*). There is very great rivalry even between the different local groups within the new regiment in formation and often they spend the night fighting each other. Even when they are in line formation, we are told that nowadays the task of controlling the groups is much harder than controlling cattle that are wild, and in many cases the *indunas* or *umpatis* who take up positions anywhere in the groups to ensure obedience, have to use their sticks pretty hard to keep these men from scuffling with any other group or groups near them or within their sight. In everything they do there is very great competition between the individuals and they are closely watched all the time by the headmen who will give those who distinguish themselves appropriate praises.

While at the King's kraal, the young men are given all the work to do. They rise early and bring water and firewood and while they are there the King's kraal is plentifully supplied with all it may need. They are made to plough the King's fields and sow and in the old days they often remained long enough to reap what they had sown. The boys are also taken out to hunt (*Zingela*) and those that distinguish themselves are greatly praised and admired. Every day the young men have to enter the King's cattle-kraal and there *giya*, i.e., jump about pretending to stab an imaginary enemy while the King looks on. After *giya'ing* they are sometimes given meat at the King's kraal, after eating which they proceed back to their *amadhlangu*. During the *Jutshwa* period of the *Inqaba yoku Casha* regiment, they were instructed to build a military kraal for the

King (the King's kraal and a military kraal are exactly the same). They built a very big kraal which still stands and is known as the *Dhlamahlahla* kraal of the King at Mahashini.⁷

During the *Jutshwa* period, the young men are instructed by the old men who tell them what is expected of them as loyal members of the tribe. These instructions are given in the King's cattle-kraal and are to the effect that they should behave well, honour older people, respect all those in positions above them, respect their parents, and never hit back when assaulted by an old person. They are told above all to honour their *indunas* and headmen, since they represent the King, and also to uphold the dignity of their locality. They must keep away from women and never deflower their sweethearts. They are taught not to quarrel and fight but to love work because only by working hard can a man acquire many cattle, have a big kraal and so be a real man. They are also told to be a good example to their kraals and to have the welfare of all in their kraal at heart. One informant states "There are so many 'Don'ts' that I can hardly remember all of them, especially as not many of them are observed generally!"

While at the royal kraal the regiments have nothing to do with the women there, who, in every royal kraal, are confined to the *isigodhlo* (a special section set apart for them at the top end of the kraal). Though they do see the women at a distance, arrangements are such that no young man is able to speak to a woman, especially as he is under such strict control. The young men must also not sit by the fire as this will make them easily affected by cold and, therefore, not fit to be warriors.

Food

In the old days the regiments lived on beer and meat which were "strengthened" with medicines called *ukuxhapisa* but nowadays the beer is not allowed and meat is not very plentiful. One beast is given to each *Isigodi* to be shared by all the boys of that district! Those who come from far are given food from the King's kraal while those residing nearby have food sent to them from their kraals. *Amasi* is taboo and the

⁷ This is the statement of Mcateni Biyela of the *Inqaba yoku Casha* regiment. It is, however, denied by G. C. Mdhladhla, Inspector of Native Schools, Nongoma, who says *kwa Dhlamahlahla* consists almost entirely of houses after European fashion. These were built by a Native mason while the King's house was built by an Italian builder, Mr. Grassi. It is possible that both informants are correct and that the original kraal built by the regiment was later demolished and rebuilt in European style, for it is improbable that Biyela would make a mistake about the kraal built when his own regiment was being formed.

chief food of the regiment is *izinkobe* ; sweet potatoes, *madumbi*, beans and other hard foods are, however, allowed. There is no special way of having meals ; all eat how and where they want to, but usually in groups with their friends. The women carrying this food place it at some distance away from the *amadhlangala* and the carriers (*udibi*) fetch the food from there. These carriers also do all the roasting of the meat. They occupy a few of the *amadhlangala* set apart for them and are treated rather harshly because they are servants. They eat alone and are a group too. In the old days it is said that the chief supplied many beasts for slaughter and also the food for the regiment during its stay. This he was able to do because not only had he the right to call upon his people to give him cattle at any time, but because he received so much in gifts (*umbondo*) from his people. It is customary for every member of the tribe to send beer occasionally to the chief's kraal, particularly when there is any ceremony taking place there such as a wedding or *ukujutshwa*. Such food is called *umbondo*. It is said that those who frequently send cattle or goats to the chief are the ones to hold high positions !

Duration of the ukuButwa and the Naming of the New Regiment

In the old days the *ukuButwa* lasted about six months or more, but its duration depends wholly on the king's will which no one has any right to question. It is difficult to discover how long the older regiments used to remain at the *butwa* ; they probably were disbanded after a very short time. In the case of the *Inqaba yoku Casha* there were, of course, not so large a number of older regiments, since the male population of Native reserves is at all times very small owing to their employment with Europeans. Those that were present did not remain longer than a few days. The *ukubutwa* of the new regiment, however, lasted for three months during which time they were mostly in the charge of the sections of men that are even to-day always attached to the royal kraals and named after them. Thus the *abase Mahashini* belong to the *Mahashini* kraal, the *abase Usuto* to the *Usutu* kraal, while the *abase Nsindine* are attached to the *Nsindine* kraal of King Solomon. On the last day of the *Jutshwa*, nowadays, the regiment is given its name⁸ but in the old days this was followed by further ceremonies not observed to-day. All the groups (*Izic'eme*) forming the regiment enter the cattle-kraal and when the King appears, all "*kuleka*" the royal salute, whereupon the King's chief *induna* announces

⁸ This has been contradicted by the informants of G. C. Mdhladhla who are emphatic that the name cannot be given more than a few days after the beginning of the *ukubutwa*. They say this is necessary in order that the new regiment may be properly looked after by the *indunas* over them otherwise there would be endless disorder.

the name of the regiment. Any fortuitous circumstance may decide the King on a name for a regiment. If it is a windy day he might name the regiment *Isivunguvungu*—a whirlwind or storm. The *Indhlondhlo* regiment was formed at a time when Cetshwayo thought himself powerful—*ndhlondhlo* means an old *mamba*. The *uDududu* regiment was formed when Cetshwayo thought he was as mighty as a river in flood—*dududu* means “hauling away” like a river dragging its débris. The *Ingobomakosi* regiment was formed at the time of the subjection of the Zulus—the name means the suppression or bending down of kings. The *iBibi* (the débris) regiment got its name from the unusually large number of boys that came up to be grouped on that occasion. *Inqaba yoku casha* means a stronghold to hide in. This name was given because the Zulu King was opposed to sending Zulus to the Great War overseas, contending that his people know nothing about sea wars. This regiment was, therefore, a “a stronghold in which the King hid himself when he was called to war.” After the announcement of their name all *kuleka* many times and *giya*. In the old days the regiment would at the same time be told the colour of its shields. No two regiments have the same colour. These shields would be black and white, or red and black, or wholly black, or white, etc.

It should be noted that only one name is given to the whole regiment but that each member may be called by that name. Thus every member of the *Falaxa* regiment may be called *uFalaxa*. Each member, however, accumulates his own special praises, which are added to from time to time in his life as he distinguishes himself. During the *Jutshwa* period the boys are closely watched and will be given praises for any boldness or courage displayed. Every member does not get praises at this time—only those who distinguish themselves in the hunts and fights of this period. The praises given will always serve to bring back to memory whatever deed of courage they were given for. These praises are sung by each individual himself when he *giya*'s. *Giya'ing* in public is only allowed to those who have already been *jutshwa'd*. Boys invent their own praises even in early childhood and *giya* among themselves but in no case may this be done in the presence of their elders or of *jutshwa'd* regiments. If they do so they can be thrashed by those who have already been enrolled. Once they have been *jutshwa'd*, however, they are at liberty to *giya* in the presence of anyone—even of regiments much older than themselves. There is, however, great importance attached to the order of *giya'ing* when regiments are gathered together (say, at a wedding). No one dare *giya* before a well-known *iqawe* who has rendered conspicuous service in many wars. To begin to *giya* before he has finished will be

risking a fight—hence the *giya'ing* time is very often the beginning of a fight. When a prominent member of a regiment *giya's*, his mates always wait until he sits down ; if one of them jumps in, he will be risking a fight in the ring. Thus when a party *giyas* it is defying the opposite party to *giya* before it has sat down. In a word, the strongest *giya's* first. Before two sides meet for a fight, jeering, shouting and *giya'ing* have first to be done to arouse the fighting blood of the men concerned.

Dispersal and end of the ukuJutshwa Period

Though to-day the regiment disperses after having been named, formerly a further ceremony marked the end of the *jutshwa*—the distribution of the shields and assegais, which was always a most impressive ceremony. A member of the *Falaza* regiment from near Verulam says that on the appointed day the *jutshwa* boys proceeded to the royal cattle-kraal in files in war-formation, while the king was seated there at the top end. At a certain spot all would stop at once and shout out the royal salute with raised hands two or three times. The chief *indunq* of the king or all his councillors then handed the shields and assegais to the *indunas* in charge of the boys, who passed them down the lines to the boys. The *indunas* also received shields, but larger, more beautiful specimens than the boys in their charge. When all had got shields, they again *kuleka'd* and then began dancing and singing. This continued till the king left them, whereupon they again *kuleka'd* the royal salute and then proceeded, singing, back to their *amudhlangala*. The king in the old days used to collect shields of certain colours (it will be remembered that the royal cattle, kept in the different military kraals were often all of one colour, so it was an easy matter to collect similar shields). Then when a regiment was formed, he would assign to them the colour, of which he had the most shields, so long as it had not already been allocated, for no two regiments had the same colour. To-day no shields are given and those that have them either buy them or make them and these are then any colour the individual chooses.

After having been given their shields each group within the regiment went back home, calling first at the kraal of the district headman. Here they spent a day of feasting and merrymaking and then had to leave their shields and spears in his charge before passing on to their own homes. The weapons were always in the custody of the district head and he handed them out when occasion demanded—when there was fighting to be done, or when the regiments went up to the chief's kraal.

The father of every boy who returns from the *ukuButwa* must, if he is not too poor, slaughter either a bullock or a goat to thank the ancestors

for having safely guided his son through yet another stage in his development. This sacrifice is one of thanksgiving just like the one at puberty. All the other members of the regiment who live near by must be present at this feast of their fellow-warrior. In practice, therefore, it will be practically the same boys who attended each other's puberty ceremony and it is not difficult to see how much emphasis such ceremonies lay on group solidarity. Even at this sacrificial feast the members of the regiment keep together in a group, though many people are present. Dancing goes on without any formalities and there is beer-drinking and feasting. Courting is the order of the day. To enable every local member of the regiment to be present, the feasts are held in turn, so they may be spread over a year or more. The more people there are at the feast, the greater will be the fame of the family concerned and everyone is, therefore, welcomed. Neighbours and friends help with beer and a number of beasts may be killed. Collective feasts held for all the boys of a neighbourhood are not unknown, but it is far more common for each father to hold a feast.

The ukuButwa of 1925

The formation of the *Upondolwendhlovu* regiment in 1925 appears to have been purely nominal, without the ceremony that was observed in 1918 for the *Inqaba yoku Casha*. The name *Upondolwendhlovu* was given in remembrance of the present of elephants' tusks (*izimpondo zendhlovu*) from King Solomon to the Prince of Wales and had it not been for the fact that the Zulu nation had to gather together to meet the Prince, there would probably have been no new regiment formed at this time. The Zulus had to greet the Prince of Wales at Eshowe but King Solomon ordered the men of the tribe to assemble at Entembeni before proceeding to Eshowe. The King himself did not wait for the people, who had been ordered to gather first at the royal kraals, *kwa* Dhlamadlahla and Mahashini, but proceeded by car to Nsindeni, one of the royal kraals at Nkonjeni in the Mahlabatini district, about thirty-eight miles from Nongoma. The *amabuto* followed him, some on horseback, others on foot and found the King at Nsindeni. The next stop was at Ntonjaneni, about twenty miles south of Mahlabatini. Here the Mandhlakazi section of the Zulus joined them and they all proceeded to Entembeni, near Melmoth, where Zulus from all parts of Zululand had gathered to meet their King. Entembeni was chosen as the meeting place because, apart from being near Eshowe, it is the head kraal of Chief Nkantini ka Siteku ka Mpande, a parallel cousin on the father's side Dinizulu (his *umfowetu*) and therefore an uncle ('father') of Solomon. It was at Entembeni, where the whole Zulu manhood was gathered together, that the name *Upondolwendhlovu* was given

to all the young men who had not yet been *butwa'd*,—those that had collected since 1918 when the last regiment had been formed.

New status conferred by the ukuButwa

Once they have been *jutshwa'd*, young men need no longer look after their father's cattle. They spend a great deal of their time courting, though in the old days most of their time was spent either in fighting or at their military kraals where they had to stay for a considerable period every year. They were the warriors of the king and could not get married till ordered to do so by him.

The *ukuButwa* or *ukuJutshwa* of the Zulus corresponds in function to the circumcision schools of other Bantu tribes and we find that the Pondos and other tribes in their neighbourhood, who have ear-piercing and *Tomba* ceremonies just like those of the Zulus, have circumcision schools instead of the *ukuButwa*. In both, young men of the same age are grouped into a regiment and are taught their place and their duties in the life of the tribe; they learn to hunt and are under strict discipline, being made to obey all orders promptly and to the letter. There are, however, important differences too: the *ukuButwa* has no operation, no learning of secret formulae nor the strict seclusion and mystery that characterise the circumcision lodge. The military system of the Zulus was built upon age-sets, which are found in all the South Bantu tribes and which must have been formed at regular intervals among the Nguni tribes long before Chaka built up the military power of the Zulus. Thus, though the Zulu military system has been completely broken since 1905 the basis on which it rested remains and the *ukuButwa* has continued, though most of its chief ceremonies have been forbidden by law and have therefore to be omitted.

KEHLA—SEWING ON THE HEADRING

The headring, which could be worn by married men only, was the symbol of full manhood and maturity, but the custom of wearing a headring has completely died out except among a few of the old men. Nowadays the king no longer has the power of dictating to the regiments when they are to marry and young men marry at will after they have been *jutshwa'd*, and very often long before. In the days of the great Zulu kings it was the king who gave the order to *kehla*, and our oldest informant says his regiment observed this rule, being given permission to marry about ten years after their *ukuButwa*. In his time, however, a change was made. Instead of awaiting the chief's command, it became usual for

the regiment to ask the chief's permission to marry. This was done, he says, because it was useless for them to be kept unmarried so long when there were no wars to be fought. On the occasion of sewing on the headring, (for which an expert who received a goat for his trouble, had to be called in) a further thanksgiving sacrifice was held and again all the members of the regiment that could attend, were present. This ceremony was always more serious and sedate than the others because by this time the men were quite old and mature. Once the headring had been sewn on a man was a full adult member of the tribe. This was the final step by means of which he was incorporated into full tribal life with all the responsibilities and privileges that this involved. He now became a father, a teacher and trainer of the younger members of the tribe and a member of the Chief's council.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF NATIVE LIFE IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

(Continued)

FINDINGS OF THE NATIVE ECONOMIC COMMISSION,
1930-1932, COLLATED AND SUMMARISED

By J. D. RHEINALLT JONES and A. L. SAFFERY

PART V¹

1. LABOUR CONDITIONS

1. MINING

Number of Natives employed

797-798. Native labourers are to be found in all forms of mining working under European managers and supervisors. Over 208,000 Native labourers were employed on the Witwatersrand gold mines in 1930, of whom 110,000 came from outside the Union.²

Recruitment

800-806. Natives from Portuguese East Africa while not actually recruited, pass through the hands of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association Limited, the members of which are the gold and coal mines of the Transvaal. Natives from other areas are dealt with by the Native Recruiting Corporation Limited. A certain number of Natives proceed to the gold mines without recruitment. There is a scheme under which such Natives may have their railway fares paid for them and receive a loan of £2 against future wages before leaving home.

Recruitment and allied services cost 1.78 pence per Native, per shift worked, or nearly one-half of the feeding cost while on the mines.

¹ For the sake of convenience and relevancy the paragraphs on labour conditions, included by the Commission in part IV, are here dealt with in conjunction with the question of wage regulation.

² Mr. Lucas in A. 250-254 claims that the importation of Native labourers from outside the Union results in large numbers of Union Natives being unemployed or wastefully employed, and in depressing the economic position and bargaining power of the Union Native.

Length of Service

802; 811, 815. Portuguese East African Natives, under the Mozambique Convention may not serve for more than eighteen months at a time, and may not be re-engaged before a lapse of six months spent at home.

Recruited Natives work for ten and a half months and are free to choose the mine to which they wish to be assigned, subject to the mine being able to take them.

Voluntary, non-recruited workers may choose to work by the month or more, and the majority of Union Natives now prefer this method.

The average period served by Natives on the mines is 10.88 months.³

817. In view of the fact that Natives in the Reserves are not adequately fed, so that they have to be specially cared for on the mines until their strength is equal to the hard work involved, and also in order to reduce the overhead charges and the loss sustained through the inexperience of Natives, the mines are anxious to increase the period for which a labourer remains with them. At one time Natives were recruited for one hundred and eighty shifts; it is now two hundred and seventy shifts.

Periods at Home

816. The average duration of the periods spent at home between each spell of mine work is probably not less than 8.1 months.

Seasonal Factors

807. Drought or depression results in an increase in the number of Natives offering themselves for mine work; except during exceptionally stringent times the mines have been short of Native labour. This accounts for their anxiety to obtain labour supplies from outside the Union.

Wages

818-832. The average earnings per shift of underground Native workers on the gold mines in June 1930 ranged from 1s. 11.9d. (tramming and shovelling—day's pay) to 2s. 8.3d (machines—piece-work.)

³ Mr. Lucas in A. 255-260 deals with the effects of the long absence of Natives from home. The ill-effects are stated to be:— undermining of Native marriage customs, morality and home life; weakening of parental control; low level of agricultural production; and loss of health through over economising in food to send wages home, living in crowded quarters and becoming infected with tuberculosis, and the contraction of venereal diseases. The beneficial results are given as the acquisition of habits of regular industry and in many cases "becoming serious, responsible men."

In addition, free board, quarters, medical treatment, and other privileges are supplied—the estimated value to the Native being 1s. 4d. or 1s. 5d. per day. (These figures include a number of items, such as recruiting charges, but on the other hand do not include other items such as cost of compound, hospital or other buildings.)

As against the cash wages and equivalents the Native labourers pay their own rail fares and travelling expenses and have to provide themselves with two pairs of mine boots each. For Natives from such areas as the Transkei the rail fare is a considerable item. Tables given by the Commission show the average net wages to range from £1 13s. 7d. to £2 4s. 0d. per month, plus food, services, medical treatment and other privileges.⁴

822. On the Transvaal coal mines wages range from 1s. 10.7d. per shift to 2s. 0.3d. per shift with two groups, coal cutters and drillers earning from 3s. upwards. Food, quarters, and medical aid should be added.

These rates “are lower than the usual wage paid to Natives in towns for much less arduous labour than is required of labourers in mines and are about the same as the wage paid on some farms, while it is very little more than the usual wage of a shilling a day which is paid for casual labour on many farms. In these circumstances, it is probable that the low level of wages on the mines is a large factor in preventing the requisite number of labourers from among British South African Natives being available for mine labour.”

Living Conditions

834, 835, 837, 976. The health, housing and feeding of Natives on the mines are governed by the provisions of the Native Labour Regulation Act 1911. The Commission considers that the housing is generally good, particularly in the newer mines. The limited accommodation for married Natives is eagerly sought after, but the Industry and the Native Affairs Department do not consider that it is either feasible or desirable to provide for a large number of Native families on the mines.

2. DIAMOND DIGGINGS

Alluvial Diggings

853. The number of Natives employed on alluvial diamond diggings in 1930 was 37,104. (No figures are given in respect of diamond mines—*Editors.*)

⁴ Par. 825. On the same mines the average pay of European employees in 1933 was £31 7s. od. per month.

The living and working conditions on the diggings are very bad. Sometimes no wages are paid at all, and at the most they do not exceed 15s. per week, out of which the Native has to find his own food and quarters, pay taxes and provide for his family. Hospital provision is quite inadequate.

Wages on Mines

826. On diamond mines the average wage is 74s. 9d. per month with quarters but not food ; on the Premier Mines the average is 3s. 2.4d. per shift.

3. MINING LAWS

862-875. The Commission outlines the Mining laws of the Union, in so far as they affect Natives, and indicates certain forms of restriction and protection.

4. SUGAR INDUSTRY

Recruitment

877-878. About one-third of the Native labourers in the sugar industry are recruited, mostly from Pondoland and Transkei.

An effort to organise recruitment on the model of the Native Recruiting Corporation of the Witwatersrand has been unsuccessful, as the Corporation that was established about 1920 failed to obtain a monopoly of recruiting for the sugar producers.

Period of Contract

The period of contract is usually one hundred and eighty shifts.

Wage

The standard wage at the time of the Commission's enquiry was 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d. per shift for adult males with food, quarters and medical attendance. It is understood that some reduction in this scale of wages has recently occurred.

916. On the earlier figures " the cash wage for local Natives is thus from £1 14s. 8d. to £2 3s. 4d. per month of twenty-six working days. On many estates Sundays are paid for, provided the Native has worked during the whole of the preceding week. In these cases the wages range from £2—£2 10s. 0d. per month."

918. For the recruited Native the return railway fare may amount to as much as £4 5s. 0d., the whole of which he pays himself. To this must be added his expenses on the journey.

919. If travelling expenses are reckoned at £3 5s. 0d. for a Native at Durban and £4 10s. 0d. for one working at Empangeni, the average nett cash wage of a recruited Native for those centres during the time he will be away from home are shown in the following table :—

Average Monthly Nett Cash Wage for absence from Home of

	7½ months			8 months			8½ months.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Durban	1	3	4	1	2	0	1	0	7
Empangeni	1	0	5	18	9		17	8	

The railway fare and travelling expenses of £3 5s. 0d. for a Native going to Durban represent 27 per cent of the total cash earnings. The corresponding figure for Empangeni is 37½ per cent. (Compare paragraphs 830 and 897).

920. Young Native boys who are recruited for the sugar estates get 8d. a shift, which leaves them a nett cash wage of from 5s. to 7s. 6d. a month for the time they are absent from home.

Living Conditions

886. The Commission quotes from the report of a delegation sent by the Transkeian Territories General Council in 1931 to investigate conditions of housing, feeding, and work, of Native labourers on the Natal coast and in the Natal coal mines. The delegation reported that on the large estates, generally, the housing and feeding were satisfactory, but that on some of the smaller farms visited the conditions were found to be "deplorable," while in others they were "all that could be desired." "On the larger estates hospitals were provided and the treatment appeared to be adequate. On the small farms the owner gave such medical attention as was possible or sent the patient to hospital at his discretion. The delegates considered that in cases of illness steps should be taken to prevent labourers from being detained on plantations until such time as their lives were endangered, but did not suggest any way of doing this. They objected to juveniles under sixteen years of age being employed on plantations."

5. RECRUITMENT

Gold and Coal Mines

See paragraphs 800-806 *supra*.

Diamond Mines and Diggings

The Commission gives no information.

Sugar Industry

See paragraphs 877-878 *supra*.

Farms

Annexure 23 of the Report contains a list of eight recruiting organisations, six of which are farm labour organisations. (The Commission, however, gives no information of farm labour recruiting conditions—*Editors*.)

General

879-884, 892-3. (a) *Recruitment of Juveniles*. The Commission "heard many complaints of what was described as kidnapping of juveniles by recruiters who were said to carry off these boys to Natal, the parents having no knowledge of where their sons had gone and in some cases losing sight of them entirely." Act 15 of 1911 (Native Labour Regulation Act) debars the recruitment of Natives under eighteen years. The Commission was informed, however, that shortly after the Act came into force this provision of the law was relaxed by administrative action, under certain specified conditions, one of which is that Natives under sixteen years of age can be apprenticed under the provisions of the Masters and Servants Laws of the Province concerned. The Commission does not consider that the recruitment of juveniles should be entirely prohibited but that it should be only allowed "subject to strict regulation which should cover conditions of housing, feeding and medical attention as well as consent of parents. There should be a limit of age, below which no recruiting of boys should be permitted." The services of chiefs might be used to control the recruiting of juveniles.

894-896. (b) *Recruitment in Malarial Areas*. The Commission considers it to be uneconomic and undesirable to recruit Native labour from non-malarial areas for service in malarial areas (e.g. Zululand) while immunised Natives from the latter are recruited for non-malarial areas (e.g. gold and coal mines). It also considers that some arrangement should be made between the mines and industries in the low veld of Zululand, for a quota of Natives from Portuguese East Africa, be made available to the latter, and the stopping of recruitment for malarial areas in non-malarial areas, so that the mines may draw upon the latter.

887-891. (c) *Recruiting methods*. The Commission is not satisfied with the present state of recruiting of Native labour for farming and

industries other than mines. It is satisfied that the Native Recruiting Corporation, which serves the mines "has reached a high degree of efficiency, that its recruiting work is carried on with due regard to the interests of the Natives, and that generally speaking, there are no complaints of abuses such as those which have been referred to in the case of minor private recruiting corporations." The Commission is of opinion that an effort should be made to organise on a co-operative basis, without a direct profit-making object, the agencies for obtaining labour for industries, other than mining, into larger units.

Every assistance should be given for the formation of such corporations, which should be given the monopoly of supplying labour to specified industries or areas. The Commission strongly urges that private recruiting organisations should be licensed in the same way as individual recruiters, and making their licenses liable to cancellation for abuses perpetrated by their recruiters. (e.g. luring of juveniles without consent of parents or guardians).

6. WAGES

898. "It requires an investigation involving considerable detailed work to give satisfactory wage statistics. This is particularly difficult when wages are paid partly in cash and partly in kind. Moreover the point must not be overlooked in dealing with wages in urban and rural areas, respectively, that the same amount of money will, in the latter, represent a considerably higher real wage. There are things which the rural labourer enjoys free of charge, or at a nominal cost, for which the town labourer has to pay, like housing, water, sanitation."

Urban areas

899, 909-15. Statistics collected by the Office of Statistics, the Wage Board, the Director of Native Labour, and others are given in Annexure 24, Tables I-VI.

Mining

900-909. See paragraphs 818-832 *supra*.

Railways and Harbours Administration

900. See Annexure 24 Table VII.

Farms

901-2. "The collection of satisfactory information bristles with difficulties, in view of the fact that payment in kind plays such a large part,

and that except in the sugar industry there is still no large class of agricultural cash-wage labourers." The results of investigations by Drs. J. C. Neethling and C. H. Neveling and officers of the Department of Agriculture are given in annexures 9 and 24—Tables VIII and IX.

904. "The number of family units living on the farm, the number of full-time man-work-units supplied by them, and the percentage of their time worked on the farm were as follows :—

	Western Transvaal.	Northern T'vaal.	Western O.F.S.	Border.	Natal Transkei.
Family Units	4.94	6.07	5.18	6.34	7.74
Man-work Units	1.76	0.60	2.06	1.77	1.90

Percentage of Time Worked	85.82	35.56	86.35	82.79	59.49 "
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905. "The cash wage varied from 16.77 per cent of the total in the Western Transvaal to 54.35 per cent in the Natal-Transkei Border."

906. "The wage per man-work-unit per annum is remarkably even, varying from £22.41 in the Northern Transvaal to £26.51 in the Western Orange Free State. The average family wage earned on the farm showed considerable difference, the lowest being £13.45 per annum in the Northern Transvaal where the family gave only 0.6 man-work-units a year, to £54.62 in the Western Orange Free State, where 2.06 such units were supplied."

907. "These investigations represent the most careful work hitherto undertaken to give accurate information on the cost of farm labour. In view of the small area covered, and the limited number of returns, the results must be regarded as provisional."

908. "Your Commission considers that more detailed work should be undertaken on these lines, to make available reliable information about Native wages on farms."

Advances against Wages

922-925. "The Native generally does not allow himself to be recruited until he is in a position when he must immediately have money to pay his General Tax, or to provide some other urgent need." The advancing of excessive amounts led to the passing of Natives' Advances Regulation Act No. 18 of 1921 to regulate the amounts. The regulations limit to £2 the advances made to Natives recruited under the Native Labour Regulation Act, 1911 and to £5 or one head of horned stock, advances

made to Natives by farmers (except sugar, tea, and wattle planters). The Commission considers that no increase should be permitted. Several magistrates recommended that no advances of money to a Native by a farmer should be legal for any amount in excess of one or two months cash wages.

Deferred Pay

926-934. The Commission describes the system of voluntary deferred pay which the gold mines have instituted to encourage thrift among their employees. The system is proving increasingly popular, particularly in the Cape Province.

7. COMPENSATION

935-941. The following scale of lump sum compensation for disablement is payable on Mines and Works :—

permanent partial disablement—from £1 to £20.

permanent total disablement or death—£30 to £50.

“There is no provision for temporary disablement which frequently lasts for a long time and necessitates repatriation,” but the Transvaal gold mines make *ex gratia* payments on a recognised scale.

Under the Miners Pthisis Acts, compensation varies from one and a half to two years earnings calculated in cash earnings only.

Natives employed elsewhere than on Mines and Works have to rely on the Workman's Compensation Act⁵ of which, however, most Natives are ignorant and no compensation is payable to Natives employed as domestic servants or in agriculture, but the ordinary common law remedy for damages arising from accidents is open to Natives.

The Commission considers that, generally, where the compensation is substantial it should be made by periodic payments.

II. LABOUR PROBLEMS

1. INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

Past

523-528. In the past, Industry in those areas where Native labour was easily available, was organised on the basis of European supervision and

⁵ The Workmen's Compensation Bill as published sets up new and more favourable scales.—*Editors.*

skilled work and Native manual labour. For the European, his high wages enabled him to maintain a high standard of living ; for the Native, his low wages satisfied his scanty needs and were sufficient when added to the benefits of tribal holdings to secure ample leisure time between periods of labour.

Present

To-day, this clear cut division no longer exists. There has been an increasing infiltration of Natives into non-manual occupations, and their needs have increased. Increased population and growing shortage of land have driven both Native and European into competition for employment in industrial areas, a certain proportion of the White population not being equipped for supervision or skilled work, and finding it impossible to live on a scale of wages based upon Native labour subsidised by tribal holdings.

Labour Force

The Labour force of the Union contains the following elements which account for a chaotic labour market :—

(a) A small class of skilled White artisans with a reasonably high level of efficiency and relatively very high wages.

(b) A very large mass of low-paid Native labourers whose low level of efficiency prevents the low wages constituting an international competitive advantage.

(c) A considerable class of Whites with a relatively low efficiency (but higher than that of the bulk of Native workers) who are unable to maintain their standard of living upon the Natives' scale of wages.

(d) A group of Natives, and to a considerable extent the Coloured population, who have achieved a level of efficiency equal to that of the Poor White man and who aspire to the latter's standard of living. These, too, suffer in competition with the mass of Native workers.

The disproportion (usually not less than 1 : 6) between the wages of the Native labourer and those of the European artisan acts as pressure on employers to reduce to a minimum the number of European employers, and to get as much of their work done by Natives as possible. One result of this is that European youths are restricted in their opportunities for training and employment.

2. INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

A293-324. Mr. Lucas in his addendum describes the position of Native workers under existing industrial legislation, and this may be summarised as follows :—

Industrial Conciliation Act

The Industrial Conciliation Act No. 11 of 1924 as amended by Act 24 of 1930 provides for industrial “ home rule ” in Industry by means of an industrial council consisting of representatives of organised employers and employees, but, except in the Cape Province, pass-bearing Natives are excluded, and even in the Cape Province Natives are not generally found in organised labour. While the councils make agreements controlling conditions in their particular industries, the Minister of Labour may on the request of an Industrial Council lay down the minimum wages payable to, and the maximum hours to be worked by, Natives. Thus Natives may find their working conditions fixed without their knowledge by employers and other employees for their own mutual advantage.

Masters and Servants and Recruiting Laws

The Masters and Servants Acts and the Native Labour Regulation Act, by which Native contracts of Service are generally governed, make it a criminal offence for an employee to break his contract of service, and Natives therefore are restricted in their power to improve their position. As in addition the vast bulk of Natives are unskilled workers who move from trade to trade as employment offers, efforts to develop labour organisations amongst Natives have not been very successful.

Wage Act

The Wage Board set up under the Wage Act No. 27 of 1925, as amended by Act 23 of 1930, was intended to secure protection for sweated or unorganised employees. When the Board finds it cannot recommend, in any industry investigated by it, a wage upon which any of the employees “ may be able to support themselves in accordance with civilised habits of life ” it may not make any recommendation unless specially directed by the Minister of Labour. In 1929 the Board was directed by the Minister to make a recommendation in respect of unskilled workers at Bloemfontein and the Board fixed a minimum of 3/6 per day. Later, a similar situation arose at Kroonstad, but in this case the Minister gave the Board no direction and the Bloemfontein award remains the only one.

The Act as amended requires that an application for an investigation

by the Wage Board shall be signed by the persons concerned and this has made it harder for applications to be made.

Apprenticeship Act

The Apprenticeship Act No. 26 of 1922, as amended by Act 15 of 1924 and Act No. 22 of 1930, provides for the training of juveniles in certain trades. The Act is operated by apprenticeship committees, representative of employers and employees, and the conditions imposed by the committees have resulted in "turning into completely European reserves occupations where previously non-Europeans have been able to satisfy the requirement of employers as to skill, even at the wages paid to Europeans."

Recommendations

Mr. Lucas recommends that Natives be allowed the benefits of the Industrial Conciliation Act; that they be allowed to organise for their mutual protection as freely as other workers are; that European trade unions co-operate with Native organisations to avoid racial friction; that the Industrial Conciliation Act be amended to provide for the recognition of a general union of labourers for unorganised unskilled workers; and that proper arrangements be made for due consideration in Industry of the needs of Native workers as well as those of European, Coloured and Indian workers.

Mines and Works Legislation and the "Colour Bar"

838-846. The Mines and Works Act Amendment Act (No. 25 of 1926) authorises the Government to make regulations demanding that certificates of competency shall be required and granted to persons engaged in certain occupations on mines, works, etc., e.g. engine driving and blasting. Natives and Asiatics have been excluded from the list of racial groups to whom certificates may be given. The practical application of the Act has so far been limited to certain classes of mining operations.

This legislation, which is known as the "Colour Bar" Act is "not so much an operative force as a statement of principle which applies in a large measure in different directions" (i.e. both in mining and outside it).

3. THE "COLOUR BAR"

(a) Majority View

The Commission found itself unable to support the removal of the "Colour Bar:" "State policy cannot allow free competition between peoples living on such widely different levels of civilisation as the Natives

and the White population of the Union, and we do not consider that free competition would be to the ultimate benefit of the Natives. Differentiation is recognised in other spheres, and differentiation in industry is necessary to prevent the lowering of White standards of living, which is sure to be followed by a lowering of the standards of efficiency and of culture. Should this be allowed, it will be necessary, after the process has worked itself out, and a new society has been created on a lower level, to start rebuilding what has been destroyed in that process."

(b) *Minority views*

247. "Dr. Roberts wishes to state that there are two cardinal principles which should govern the movement and employment of all citizens of the Union, namely freedom of movement and freedom of occupation; and that to endeavour to limit the occupation or the movement of Natives is therefore an infringement of their rights as citizens of the land."

848-852. Mr. Lucas also opposes the "Colour Bar" pointing out the resentment which has been caused amongst Natives, by the substitution of Natives by Europeans, on public works, etc., and the failure to discriminate between civilised and uncivilised Natives.

He says "the colour bar is no protection to White civilisation among the large number of untrained and unskilled Europeans. It cannot be effectively applied to labourers' work. The number of Natives who are qualified for skilled work is actually very small. Native witnesses stated they were quite willing to be required by law to accept for such work nothing less than is paid for it to Europeans. In those circumstances the performance of such work by Natives cannot injure White civilisation. Several trade unions have now realised that their standard of living is not jeopardised by admitting to membership Coloured people and Indians, provided they are not allowed to work for a wage lower than the standard wage, and the same reasoning is valid in respect of Natives.

III. WAGE REGULATION

Terms of Reference

993. The Commission was directed to report upon "the application to Natives in Urban Areas of the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment, and for dealing with industrial disputes and/or the desirability of any modification of these laws or of providing other machinery for such purposes."

Division of Opinion

994-1055. 'The Commission is sharply divided upon this matter, Messrs. Anderson and Lucas and Dr. Roberts dissenting from the views expressed by the majority of the Commission.

*(a) Majority View**Dangers of Regulation*

994-1006. 'The creation of a permanent labour force in industry is of the utmost importance in any effort to regulate economic conditions. On the other hand wage regulation tends to restrict the elasticity of the economic system and to reduce the power of a community to adjust itself to changing conditions. In European countries where wage regulation has been applied, the labour supply factor is reasonably calculable. In the Union the labour force factor is a fluctuating one owing to the inflow and outflow of tribal and farm Natives within industrial areas. Any attempt at wage regulation will always be vitiated by the disintegrating effects of these large numbers of casual labourers and will only tend to increase the existing chaos with resultant grave injury to the economic structure of the country generally.

Efforts at wage regulation in a period of falling prices from which the Union has already suffered, and which show little sign of any upward tendency, must seriously affect the elasticity of the economic system and its power to readjust itself to changing conditions at a time when these are vitally necessary for the restoration of economic health.

Besides, the whole object of wage regulation—the adjustment of wages in relation to other economic factors not allowed for under a policy of "*laissez faire*"—has been forgotten and wage regulation is used as a lever to redistribute wealth even at the cost of economic health. The avowed object of those who desire wage regulation for the Natives is to increase their nominal wages. Actually, in a period of falling prices, real wages rise even though nominal wages remain stationary. In the present circumstances real wages are rising and prices falling, thus inflicting a very heavy burden upon those whose duty it is to keep the wheels of industry in motion. This is therefore scarcely a proper time to introduce a further rise in wages.

Effects on Natives

Wage regulation would act to the detriment of the Natives.

(a) by increasing their tendency to drift to the towns, with effects which all the Commissioners deplore ;

(b) by making more difficult the development of the Reserves, which all the Commissioners agree offers the most hopeful method of dealing with the Native Economic Problem ;

(c) by reducing employment and increasing the burden upon Natives of maintaining, from their own means, those out of work. (The Commission does not agree that regulation of Native wages in Bloemfontein has not had this effect) ;

(d) by increasing the strain upon the ameliorative work undertaken in urban areas as a result of the Urban Areas Act ;

(e) by its reactions upon mining and farming, in which increases in wages must necessarily follow upon higher wages in other industries, thus eliminating forms of marginal production, of which there are many in South Africa, both in mining and farming. The reduction of the national income in this way would be to the detriment of the Native as well as the community generally.

Recommendation

The Commission therefore does not agree that the extension of the laws relating to the regulation of wages is a suitable way of assisting the urbanised Native to raise his standard of living in the face of the competition of tribal Natives who are subsidised by the income from their tribal holdings.

(b) Minority View

Messrs. Anderson and Lucas and Dr. Roberts dissent from the views expressed by the majority and their views are summarised below—

Results of Low Native Wages

1010-1055. The low level of Native wages has the following effects :—

- (a) absence of initiative to increase efficiency of Native labour ;
- (b) wasteful use of Native labour ;
- (c) postponement of the introduction of mechanical aids to efficient and economical production ;
- (d) subsidisation of Native wages by Municipal housing schemes ;
- (e) limitation by the low consumptive power of the Native of the market for production and trade ;
- (f) perpetuation of the gap between Native wages of 2/6 a day and the minimum of 5/-, which is considered necessary for a White man to

maintain his standard of life, and thus providing an incentive to employers to use Native labour rather than White ;

(g) inability of the unemployed skilled worker to fall back temporarily upon unskilled unemployment.

These conditions make it doubtful whether a low paid Native labour supply is an undoubted asset.

Remedies

These evils can only be met by

1. Improving the economic conditions in the Reserves and upon European farms to minimise the pressure upon rural Natives to seek work in urban areas.

The recommendations of the Commission regarding the development of the Reserves should be carried out wholeheartedly and generously.

2. Lessening the gap between the wages of Europeans and Natives. The Commission as a whole has expressed itself against " full economic segregation " and that form of " partial economic segregation " which would involve the removal of Natives from European areas (see paragraphs 692-695), and, notwithstanding any improvements that are effected in rural areas, there will always be a relatively large Native population in the towns, whose economic position will only be very slightly improved by improvements in rural areas. It will still be necessary to bring the Native's standard of living closer to the White standard. This can only be done by wage regulation and the consequent better organisation of industry. " In the increased production which can be obtained by efficient organisation and careful training of employees, there is in most industries scope for the provision of higher rates of pay than rule to-day for unskilled and semi-skilled work. In the training for greater productiveness of Native employees and of the Europeans whose only future is that of labourers, there lies the possibility of great expansion in all branches of South African industries at wages which will make possible a civilised standard of living for both Europeans and Natives."

Necessity for Wage Regulation

Having discussed Native wage conditions as found at various centres, the minority expresses the view that despite the fact that there is a wide measure of agreement among employers in the larger towns that Native unskilled wages are unreasonably low there is little or no prospect of any improvement in the absence of wage regulation, especially as effective

combination of Native labourers under existing laws is difficult if not impossible.

Not Cause of Townward Drift

The Minority do not consider that there is any justification for the fear that the raising of the level of Native wages will aggravate the present townward drift. A statement of Native employment in Bloemfontein during the period 1st February to 31st July, 1931 (i.e. subsequent to the wage determination) showed a reduction of more than 50% in the number of outside Natives seeking and obtaining work in Bloemfontein, and there is no evidence that farmers in surrounding districts have less labour or have had to pay any higher wages because of the determination. The drift into the towns is caused by economic pressure in rural areas, where the absence of cash to pay tax, secure clothing, and other needs, compels Natives to go where money can be earned. An increase in Native wages in the towns might make it possible to reduce the number coming into the towns, as those who now come into the towns to earn cash might be able to stay away longer.

Recommendations

The Wage Act will be more suitable for regulating Native wages than the Industrial Conciliation Act. The Economic and Wage Commission (1925) recommended the application of the Wage Act to unskilled Native labour.

The Minority recommend "that the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and conditions of employment should be made to apply to Natives in the industries to which those laws are applicable, due care being taken not to proceed so rapidly as to prevent trade and industry from being able to adapt themselves to any changes."

Agriculture

1056. The Minority agree with the Economic and Wage Commission that it is not practicable to bring employees in agriculture within the operation of wage regulations.

PART VI

SHARE OF NATIVES IN PUBLIC REVENUE AND IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Terms of Reference

1057. "What proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the Native population directly or indirectly. What proportion of the public

expenditure may be regarded as necessitated by the presence of, and reasonably chargeable to, the Native populations.”

Differentiation Unusual

1058. The Commission begins by pointing out that :—“ It is not usual in treatises on Public Finance to consider taxation and public expenditure from the point of view of any one class of persons : the expenditure which the State considers necessary is regarded as a charge against the whole community and it is the task of the Government to distribute this equitably among the various classes of persons which constitute the State. The view generally taken is that if expenditure from which any class of persons (e.g. old age pensioners) gain a differential advantage, is considered necessary, the taxes required for meeting it may be raised from another class, even if no individuals in that class (e.g. payers of super-tax) derive any direct benefit from such expenditure. Public expenditure is, therefore, joint expenditure, not expenditure in which any particular class has to raise the whole amount of money expended by the State on that class. The question whether such expenditure is necessitated by the presence of any class of persons does not therefore normally arise, because it is not considered to be a true criterion of the amount of revenue which should be raised from a particular class. In dealing with this Term of Reference your Commission has taken the view that what is required is an analysis of the existing state of affairs, rather than an investigation of the question as to what taxes the Natives ought to pay, which question we do not regard as falling within this Term of Reference.”

Estimated Native Ratio

1059-1063. Having described the difficulties experienced and the methods adopted in separating, from the figures of National revenue and expenditure, those items which can be reasonably regarded as derived from or expended for the benefit of the Native population, the Commission estimates the share of the Natives in the National Income at about one-eighth. This ratio is used in debiting against Natives their share of the joint expenditure, the figures for the financial year 1929/30 being used.

Estimates

1064-1066. The Commission estimates Native contributions to Revenue, direct and indirect, including a share in Public Estate at £3,322,917.*

*Par. 1095. Mr. Lucas considers that this should be increased by £510,000 as he considers that the share of Natives in the Public Estate has been underestimated.

1067. The proportion of Public Expenditure reasonably chargeable to the Native population is estimated at £4,184,700.

1068-1127. Detailed analysis of Revenue and Expenditure.

PART VII.

ADDENDUM

Pars. A1-357. An Addendum, by Mr. F. A. W. Lucas, containing a great deal of valuable information and many recommendations, is attached to the main report. Use of this has been made throughout the present work.

PART VIII

ANNEXURES

Numbers 1-24

PART IX

ANNEXURE TO MR. LUCAS' ADDENDUM

Number 25

BOOK REVIEWS

Ukuziphatha Kahle, by John L. Duße, Mariannhill Press, 1933.

This little book of 60 pages, written by the Rev. J. L. Duße, the Principal of Ohlange Institute, Natal, deals as the title indicates with good manners. There is probably no one who knows more about Zulu etiquette than the author and in this pamphlet he has set down for the guidance of his people the manner in which Zulu boys and girls should behave.

He realises that manners and customs, under the impact of European influence, are changing, and he has placed side by side the old and the modern modes of behaviour. This is done for the sake of comparison and to give the reader the opportunity of intelligent criticism. As an illustration of this one might take the control of children by parents. Here the author shows the confusion which appears to have come into Zulu society because people no longer know how much control is allowed. This is the case too with regard to children belonging to other people. It used to be the recognised right of an elder to correct the misdeeds of children, if they were caught in the act, whether they were his own or not, but nowadays he might find himself in the police court.

It is not possible in a short review to traverse the whole book. Suffice it to say that the author severely criticises kissing even between mother and child, asserting that it is not a Zulu custom and is considered disgraceful in public; that guidance is given on the proper behaviour of engaged couples and on suitable dress for boys and girls; that table manners are dealt with and warnings against personal mannerisms given, while suggestions on the writing of letters comprise the last chapter.

It is interesting in that it is the first book to appear in the new Zulu orthography, but the proofs have not been carefully read with the result that a good few misprints have been passed over. The implosive *ḡ* has been improvised by using an inverted *g* with the result that it is out of alignment throughout. It is to be hoped that this will be put right in a new edition.

A word of praise is due for the excellent illustrations that adorn the book. It should be read by all school children in the higher classes and is of interest to older people as well.

D. McK. MALCOLM.

Anthropologie Stredoafrických Pygmeju v Belgickém Kongu, by Paul Schebesta and Victor Lebzelter, Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts, Prague, 1933.

Assisted by a considerable grant from the Dr. Ales and Mrs. Marie Hrdlicka Fund of the Charles University at Prague and a subvention from the Comenius University at Bratislava, Dr. P. Schebesta travelled widely amongst three groups of pygmy peoples namely :—the Bambuti pygmies of the Ituri forest, the pygmiform Batwa of Ruanda and the pygmiform Bacwa of the Province d'Equateur in Belgian Congo during 1929-30 ; and collected systematically a vast series of photographic records, somatometric measurements and other anthropological data concerning these little-known people.

The unique results of the expedition are incorporated in a 143 page monograph, including detailed tables and an appendix of 66 plates containing 1163 photographs, issued by the Czech Academy of Arts and Sciences. The rich material returned to Charles University was entrusted by the Director Professor J. Matiegka to Dr. Victor Lebzelter, who wrote up the detailed physical anthropology of the pygmies, while Dr. Schebesta confined his attention to the demography and morphology of the groups studied. South Africans will remember Dr. Lebzelter from personal contact with him. His study of the pygmies was not only amply prepared for by his previous work on the Malacca pygmies, but also was greatly enriched by his investigations here on the Bush peoples.

In a conjoint labour, of these dimensions and with so many and varied merits, it is difficult to select the most outstanding results of the work without prolixity. Nothing has been more needed in African Anthropology than such a survey and it is a reproach that no similarly conceived survey of our own Bush folk has yet been made. Schebesta estimates that the first group, or Bambuti, includes 20-25,000 pygmies and divides them into three sub-groups on a linguistic basis :—the northern Aka or Basa (using the Soudanese idioms), the Basua on the Ituri River (whose camp language is Kibira, an archaic Bantu idiom), and the eastern Efe (comprising the pygmies of the Mamvu, Mombuta, Balese and Bambuba Negroes and those under the Banyari and Banande). It is amongst the Bambuti and in Basua that Lebzelter finds the purest pygmies (82% of true pygmies), who are generally brachycephalic or sub-dolichocephalic and are characterised by very low faces, very broad noses and thin lips. The second group or Batwa of Ruanda, i.e. Lake Kivu region, are more mixed with Negroes and are being specially investigated by P. Schumacher. They only show 50% of pygmies according to

Lebzelter while amongst the third group of Bacwa the pure pygmy breed is reduced to 25%.

These important data lead Lebzelter to declare that there is but *one pygmy race*, i.e. the Bambuti and that the introduced impurities are of two types namely negroid and europoid (or caucasoid). Unfortunately Schebesta was unable to obtain any pygmy skeletons and so Lebzelter could not carry the research to a final issue ; but there is no doubt from the actual hybridisation, that Schebesta observed under way, and from his photographic records that Negro, Semitic and Hamitic (or brown) elements have easily mingled with the pygmy type. Hence in the case of the living pygmy as with the bush people of South Africa, we are dealing with a highly-hybridised stock, which calls for future investigation along Mendelian lines.

Lebzelter finds that there are differences between the Bambuti pygmy type and the Bush type, but the width of the chondrocranium in the two races is identical. He finds too that the physiognomic index also is the same in Bushmen, in African and even in Asiatic pygmies. Without drawing any unwarranted conclusions from his data, it is none the less apparent, from his text, that he is looking forward to the time when more thorough-going analyses will clear up the riddle of these widely-dispersed and comparable, if not identical, and apparently most primitive of the living human stock.

Nothing but admiration can be given to the authors for this striking and well-documented contribution to our knowledge of the Central African races.

In no field of scientific enterprise has the Czechoslovakian nation shown greater enterprise since the Great War than in that of Anthropology and this work reflects the greatest credit on the Anthropological Institute of Charles University. The English resumé of results makes the research accessible to the whole scientific world and the entrusting of the publication to "Anthropos," St. Gabriel near Vienna, has insured its presentation in dignified and beautiful form such as is characteristic of that administration.

R.A.D.

The Skeleton of British Neolithic Man, by John Cameron. Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1934. 15/-.

In a handy volume of 272 pages the former Professor of Anatomy at Dalhousie University has provided future workers with a storehouse of information concerning the neolithic inhabitants of Great Britain, and it

is a highly gratifying sign of the times that a firm of British publishers is finding it financially possible to produce a specialised physical anthropological work of this nature at so reasonable a figure.

The author has brought to this labour of love the same originality of outlook as has characterised all his contributions to the science of anatomy. He has greatly enriched our conception of our pre-Roman ancestors not only by his detailed observations on the rich material of that period now available in British Museums but also by incorporating the relative information in the records of classical writers and by assimilating comparable data from the Mediterranean area. A particularly useful feature of the work is the final chapter, which is a census of neolithic and other ancient skeletal material in the museums of Great Britain prepared by Miss M. L. Tildesley.

Apart from any other considerations Cameron's contributions to our understanding of platymeria, platyemia and the feet of neolithic man would have made this volume worth while ; but he has extended his physiological method of approach to the entire body and has shown how the skeleton infallibly portrays the fundamental habits of life. An anatomical detective, he finds in these bones the imprint of the sandals Neolithic men wore, the slings they wielded and the squatting posture they customarily adopted. It is the true anatomist, who can clothe dead bones with life ; and it is a pleasure to pay tribute to one who has shown the way to our present generation in that respect. Altogether, author and publishers are to be congratulated on the service they have hereby rendered to anatomy and embryology.

R.A.D.

Les Trépieds et Appuis. dos du Congo Belge, Annales du Musée du Congo Belge Tervueren (Belgium), D. Ethnographie Série 6, Catalogues illustrés des Collections ethnographiques du Musée du Congo Belge. Tome I Fascicule 2, Plates 9-16 and 2 maps. By Dr. J. Maes.

Dr. Maes, head of the Ethnographical Section of the Museum of the Belgian Congo, has given us one more of his extremely valuable studies of the material culture of the tribes in the Belgian Congo.

The present volume is concerned with artefacts especially typical of the forest region of the Congo, some of which, indeed, are not known outside the area at all, namely the Trépieds or three-legged artefacts. These very interesting and ingenious articles of furniture are made from the branch of a tree cut in such a way that midway along the length four side branches project more or less from one point. The whole six-pointed

artefact is then smoothed and the two branches which point downwards are cut short to form legs, so that with these supports and one end of the main branch the whole article forms a three-legged artefact. The upper part of the main branch forms a rest for the back, the appuis-dos, while the other two side branches form either a rest for the arms, in which case the whole article of furniture is used as a back rest and employed together with a cane stool, or, if the branches project at a convenient angle, they help to form a seat themselves, in which case the Trépied can be used by itself as stool and back-rest combined. The three-legged back-rests are ornamented with copper and brass studs, while the three-legged stools with back rests are carved, except on the surface which is used as the seat. The articles are reserved for the use of men.

From these have been evolved much more elaborate back-rests still touching the ground at three points, but carved from a thick tree-trunk instead of from a mere branch so that the back-rest is much broader. The variety and ingenuity of the designs of these back-rests is astonishing, as is also the ornamentation of a large number of them.

It is interesting to note that the area in which all these articles appuis-dos and Trépieds are found is the central area of the Congo north and south of the great bend of the Congo and that neither the Luba-Lunda people to the south nor the Sudanese people, like the Azande, to the north have them at all. On the other hand it is precisely these tribes which have the head-rests which are absent from the Central area.

Dr. Maes considers the Mongo-Kundu tribes of the great Congo bend and their affiliated tribes to be the real makers and users of these articles and stresses the marked differentiation of the culture of these tribes from those to the north and south of them.

We feel that this is a thoroughly satisfactory piece of work for which all students owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Maes and the Congo Museum authorities.

A. W. HOERNLÉ.

Isicatuliso, by L. H. M. Jandrell, Nederduits Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk, Standerton, 1932 (quarto 162 pp. illustrated, 4/-.)

We are very glad to have an opportunity of commending this fascinating Zulu reader, prepared by the Rev. Jandrell of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, more particularly for his own mission schools. The book is a large quarto volume, strongly bound and most beautifully illustrated. The lessons (of which there are 195) are graded in such a way that writing and reading are together advanced for the pupil from

the very beginning by easy gradients until he is able to read any text, and write in both block and cursive styles.

The early lessons naturally deal with the formation of letters and a very sound method is followed for initiating the scholar into the mysteries of writing : numerous blocks illustrating the formation of the letters and the growth from syllables to words accompanying the lessons. The introduction of the clicks is delayed till all the other sounds are dealt with. The names of the letters of the alphabet are not given until the 144th lesson is reached.

The real reading lessons are built up around a fine collection of Zulu proverbs and sayings, which provide a starting point for Christian teaching. The whole idea of these is to have the Zulu atmosphere and to set a high moral tone of teaching, preserving as much of the Zulu as possible. In this the lessons are reminiscent of what Mpanza has recently done in his "*uGuqabadele*." There is no denominational teaching in the book and its use can be highly commended to any missionary society.

Throughout the book are large numbers of fascinating illustrations, mostly taken from Native life. It is to be hoped that there will be a large sale for this book. Workers in other areas would do well to procure the book, as the method pursued by the author could well be followed in dealing with other Bantu languages.

It will probably be found wise in a future edition to divide the book into two or three sections, so as to make each section more easily suited in price to the Native beginner.

C.M.D.